

Back to Principles

THE DIAL

A FORTNIGHTLY

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THE DIAL

A FORTNIGHTLY

Back to Principles

THE OFFICIAL COMMENTARY on the Covenant says that "if the Nations of the future are in the main selfish, grasping, and bellicose, no instrument or machinery will restrain them." Exactly the same thing might have been said and no doubt was said by our remote forefathers about individuals. Yet we have succeeded in restraining—I do not say eradicating—the selfishness, the cupidity, and the bellicosity of individuals by preventing them from being a law unto themselves. There is nothing intrinsically impossible in restraining nations by the same means; the difficulty is that too many of those that profess to will the end do not will the means. It is assumed that a nation must always be a law unto itself, just as no doubt it was once assumed that the individual must be. The obstacle to any genuine international organization is the conception of the sovereign independent state and, if we really wish to try to get rid of war, we must first of all abolish the sovereign independent state. Some means must be devised for depriving the state of authority outside its own borders while leaving it autonomy within them. The present Covenant makes no attempt to do that; the whole structure of the League is built up on the good faith of governments—an insecure foundation.

The measure of the disappointment which the Constitution of the League has caused among those that were the first to welcome President Wilson's idea may be gaged by the declaration on the subject of the French Socialist Party. In the manifesto adopted at the National Congress of the Party last week the opinion was expressed that the new organization will be nothing but "a league of Capitalists having at their service an international White Army for the purpose of fighting the social revolution everywhere." The manifesto in which this passage occurs was adopted without a vote being given against it except by the extreme left of the Party, which proposed an alternative text even less complimentary to the League of Nations; the former "Majoritaires" abstained from voting, but on the ground that the manifesto condemned the policy followed by the party during the war. The declaration about the League of Nations therefore prob-

ably expressed the unanimous opinion of French Socialists and I should say the nearly unanimous opinion of the Socialists of Europe. How can it be otherwise when they see the five great powers which will dominate the League backing all the enemies of the Russian Revolution and inciting Roumania to overthrow the revolution in Hungary? Bitter indeed has been the disappointment of the Socialists and Labor parties of Europe at Mr. Wilson's acquiescence in such proceedings as these. The Roumanian attack on Hungary, incited or rather ordered by the Allies, is not only an unwarrantable interference in the internal affairs of another country but also a breach of the Armistice. What confidence can be placed in a League of Nations inaugurated by such measures as these? Moreover, a League of Nations on whose council five powers have five representatives and all the others only four has an unpleasant resemblance to a Holy Alliance. Another cause of profound disappointment is the utter inadequacy of the provisions in the Covenant relating to disarmament. The peoples of Europe have been told that this was "a war to end war"; their great hope was that it would at least end compulsory military service and huge conscriptionist armies; they now see that there is not the remotest probability of its doing anything of the sort. Perhaps their feelings on the subject are fairly well represented by the following passage in the manifesto of the French Socialist Party already mentioned:

The party denounces the hypocrisy of the French rulers who, after having exploited the ignorance and credulity of the masses of the people by making them believe that the war was merely one for national defence, for the free self-determination of peoples, for the destruction of militarism and the suppression of armaments, are now devoting themselves to giving this war a purely imperialist and capitalist solution whence will inevitably issue fresh conflicts unless the international proletariat soon becomes master of its destinies.

Since nothing is to be gained by blinking the truth, I am obliged to say that it is not only the League of Nations that has caused disappointment. When Mr. Wilson first came over to Europe, he was enthusiastically welcomed by all the liberal elements and by the masses of the people in every country. On him were fixed the eyes of all that

sincerely desired to remove the causes of war and establish international comity. I should be departing from the truth if I said that Mr. Wilson's position was still the same. He has not placated his enemies—they have never been so violent—and he has not retained the confidence of his friends. When I last wrote it was believed that Mr. Wilson would leave the Peace Conference rather than yield to the demands of the French Government in regard to the Saar Valley and the Left Bank of the Rhine. He has agreed to a compromise in regard to the Saar Valley which must inevitably make it a cause of new dissensions. The annexation of the territory by France would be at once more honest and less dangerous to the peace of Europe than this hybrid solution. And how can Mr. Wilson reconcile with democratic principles the handing over of the inhabitants of the Saar Valley to the control of a directorate of five persons, of whom only one will be chosen by the inhabitants themselves? A few days ago I should have been obliged to say that no man in history had had a greater opportunity than that which Mr. Wilson had lost. He has indeed made a stand in regard to the Italian claims, but are the Italian claims in fact any worse or any less consistent with the Fourteen Points than the claims of other Allies, of France or Japan, for instance? Great Britain is no more blameless than the others. It is British ambitions in Egypt and Mesopotamia and Persia that have weakened Mr. Lloyd George's hands in the conflict with French and Italian imperialism. We have imposed our rule on Egypt in defiance of the wishes of the inhabitants and, when they rose against us in defense of their liberties, we suppressed the rising with a severity which, if the accounts be true, should make us hold our tongues in future about German atrocities. I do not know how far the accounts are true, for the Government as usual has deprived us of any but the most meager information. *L'Humanité* published on April 26 a pathetic and very moderate account by Zagloul Pasha of the wrongs of his country; M. Francois Cracy, who interviewed the Pasha on behalf of the paper, said that England was dishonored by what had happened. I agree with him. And I fully understand the feeling of Frenchmen and Italians that, so long as our government acts in this way, it is not in a position to oppose the imperialism of their governments. It was perhaps because Mr. Lloyd George felt that too that he deserted Mr. Wilson in the matter of the Saar Valley and supported the French demands which he had hitherto opposed. That able American supporter of European imperialism, Mr. Frank H. Simonds, has said that Mr. George bowed "to the will of British Parlia-

ment and British public opinion." Mr. Simonds is mistaken about British public opinion. The British Parliament, although it is only four months old, no longer represents public opinion. The by-election at Central Hull has shown that the ministerial coalition cannot even hold a seat which it won in December by a majority of 10,000. The issues before the electors of Central Hull were conscription and the imperialist ambitions of the Allies; they realized, as the public in general now realizes, that the former is the logical result of the latter. Central Aberdeen has now given the same verdict. That Mr. Lloyd George was subjected to pressure in this country is true; perhaps the bitterness of his attack on Lord Northcliffe in the House of Commons the other day was an indication of annoyance at having yielded to that pressure. Everything that Mr. Lloyd George said about Lord Northcliffe was true, but it was just as true when Lord Northcliffe put Mr. Lloyd George into power and the latter is rather late in finding it out. Moreover the attack would have carried more weight if Mr. George had not once more followed Lord Northcliffe's policy.

Mr. Wilson's compromise in regard to the Saar Valley has also weakened his protest against the Italian claims. Italy has in fact a much better claim to Fiume than has France to the Saar Valley, for there is a large Italian population in Fiume—Italians claim that it is even the majority—whereas there is no French population in the Saar Valley. In protesting against the Dalmatian annexations guaranteed to Italy by the iniquitous treaty made when she entered the war Mr. Wilson is on stronger ground. But how much stronger would have been his position if he had taken a firm stand long ago against all such claims from whatever quarter they came! It was in his power to make conditions when America came into the war and he has had many opportunities of making them since. The facts that he never signed the Pact of London and that Europe is to so great an extent dependent on America economically and financially give him an unique position at the Peace Conference. The opponents of imperialism in France itself regret that Mr. Wilson should have waited until now to make his stand. M. Marcel Sembat, who was a member of the Viviani and Briand Ministries during the war, wrote in *L'Humanité* on April 25:

President Wilson, why have we waited so long? Despair follows, as you well know, on hope deferred. We are tired of listening in vain. Have you not had occasion to intervene in the Fiume question? Can you not see the great standing armies rising again in spite of your promises? Was not the ferocious appetite of conquest roused and threatening? Why did you not sooner appeal to the conscience of the Nations, in which was your strength? Why did you so long endure that we should

be thrown back under the rule of the old Diplomacy? Have you not read that interview given by the Generalissimo of the Allied armies? The French paper that reproduced it was seized, but surely you have read it and have thought upon it and understood its full meaning? Is it not more intolerable in your sight that in the name of France the Rhine Frontier should be demanded in perpetuity than that Italy should demand an Italian town? Now, since you have at last spoken, since you have gone straight to the peoples' over the heads of their Governments, since you have broken that oppressive silence, will you not complete your task? Speak once more; tell us all your anxieties, your struggles, your aspirations and do not let us fall back once more into the silence of death.

As the Daily Herald said a few days ago, there is only one remedy for the tangle into which the Peace Conference has got itself—to return to principles. It is because principles have been abandoned and appetites let loose that the tangle has come about. Only America can force the Conference to return to principles and a distracted Europe looks to you and to Mr. Wilson to do it. Every country in Europe is seething with discontent and unrest. In Belgium there is bitter resentment against the Allies, especially France, on account of the neglect with which Belgian requirements are being treated. Belgium has been sacrificed to the cause of the Allies, she has been occupied by the enemy for nearly five years, her industry is ruined, she is bankrupt, and the majority of the population are out of work. Now that the victory is won, she is treated as a negligible quantity and put on a level with Haiti and Uruguay, although before the war she was economically a more important country than Italy. A detestably selfish policy has been followed toward her at the Peace Conference by certain Allied Governments, and the Belgians allege that the French Government is intriguing against them in Luxembourg. If the Allied Governments wished to see Bolshevism triumphant all over Europe, they would not have acted otherwise than they have.

There is a general strike in a great French provincial town, which neither the French nor English Press has been allowed to mention. The French Socialist Party has become once more definitely rev-

olutionary; M. Albert Thomas and M. Renaudel have signed an electoral program which declares that a revolution is necessary and that it will probably begin with a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat. This program was accepted last week by the whole of the National Congress except the extreme left, which did not consider it sufficiently advanced. The Party decided to affiliate itself only temporarily to what is called the Second International, which recently met at Berne, on condition that it purge itself of M. Vandervelde, M. Branting, and other Socialists that are compromising with bourgeois governments, that it return to the class war and irreconcilable opposition to bourgeois parties and governments, and that it follow the example of Russia, Hungary, and Germany by immediately orientating the International towards the social revolution. If these conditions are not complied with it is probable that the French Socialist Party will adhere to the Third International founded by the Russian Bolsheviks, to which the Italian and Swiss Socialist Party are already affiliated. In its manifesto which has already been mentioned the French Socialist Party denounces the conditions of Peace imposed on Germany as being "calculated to reduce the German people to slavery," expresses its sympathy with the Russian Revolution, condemns the policy of the Allies in regard to Russia, and instructs the Socialist deputies to vote against the budget and all military and civil credits on pain of exclusion from the party. I have already quoted the declaration of the party about the war, which it attributes to the "imperialism and nationalism of all the European States small and great."

Such are some of the events that are happening in Europe while our statesmen and our diplomatists squabble over frontiers and scraps of territory. The gods, one would imagine, must have marked them for destruction: unfortunately they may also involve others than themselves in their ruin.

ROBERT DELL.

Morning

I hope that I shall know when the moment comes,
So I can be glad.
I think it will give me that clear sharpness of joy
I have never had

To slip past the edge of sense, to throw off the old
Worn garb of distress,
And poise an instant naked and free, then plunge
Into nothingness.

KATHARINE WARREN.

Finland—A Bulwark Against Bolshevism

THE war which was to make the world safe for democracy has come to a fitting close. The de facto government of Finland has been recognized in almost the same breath that acclaimed the monarchist elements in Western Siberia. Scarcely was the announcement made when the ambassador of the present Finnish government disembarked on the shores of the United States. The regime he represents has on its own confession thrown Finnish citizens into jail by the thousands, and has denied the ordinary rights of participation in politics to thousands more. It is altogether fitting and proper that the elder statesmen of the Quai d'Orsay should recognize Finland—for what it is worth. The basis of the recognition is what makes the act interesting.

From the beginning of the great war Finland has been a disaffected country. National struggles and class struggles have been perplexingly intermingled, for the reason that Finland is a zone of contact where the Slavic and Teutonic civilizations, one moving eastward and one westward, meet; and in general the common people of Finland seem to have been the victims of two contentious foreign ruling classes, who have now compromised their differences for the laudable purpose of keeping the mass of Finlanders in subjection. General Mannerheim himself sums up in his personal inheritance the main characteristics of the present ruling classes. Born in Finland, of Teutonic Junker stock, and trained in Russia under the Czarist regime, he brings to the government of his native land an enviable equipment in cruelty, arrogance, rapacity, and chicane. To the degree that he fails to represent the Finnish people he represents the more adequately the present government.

At the beginning of the war the ruling classes turned with a single mind to Germany for aid in throwing off the incubus of Russian bureaucracy. Volunteers were enlisted for training under German military discipline, and preparations were made to attach the conduits of power to a switch manipulated in Berlin. The Finnish ruling classes realized that without the intervention of an alien military government they were impotent. For ever since the revolution of 1905 the common people of Finland had drifted toward Socialism, and but for the timely intervention of the Czar, popular government, through a coalition of peasants and workers, would have swept the tax-collecting classes into limbo. Hence the dual character of Finnish nationalism. To the worker it meant freedom to participate in the international class struggle; to the

moneyed classes it meant the guarantee of their personal ascendancy within the national domain.

How specious was the ruling classes' fear of Russification became apparent as soon as the Kerensky regime was established in Russia. The Finnish Socialists were then in the majority, as against all the conservative parties in combination, and in July 1917 they promptly seized the opportunity to declare Finland's political separation from Russia. Germany was not yet in a position to play its appointed role in the domination of the Finnish proletariat, and the Allies were still (nominally) opposed to Prussian methods of rule. Accordingly the conservative parties joined issue with the Socialists on the question of independence, and were able to stall the works successfully by procuring a dissolution of the Diet. Then four months of political frustration followed. Just as the new parliament was about to meet in November the overthrow of the first Russian republic took place, and the reins of government fell into the hands of unmistakably proletarian groups, functioning through the Soviets. Instantly the Finnish home rule problem was turned upside down. The Socialist party now declared its adherence to Soviet Russia, and the conservatives resuscitated their project for national independence.

Up to this time the Finnish Socialist party had limited its activities to the established parliamentary fields. It had worked cautiously, and with that rigorous internal discipline so characteristic of continental Socialism. Protection to labor and the eight-hour day and equal suffrage for municipalities were the measures it demanded—the sort of thing even a Republican Congress might pass under the whip of a Democratic president. The small conservative majority in the November Diet refused to consider these apparently innocent demands, and in consequence of their refusal the Socialist Party, operating with the federation of labor unions, declared a general strike—November 15, 1917. The result was civil war, accompanied by the usual manifestation of violence, bloodshed, and disorder. During this period the Red Guard had the upper hand, and acts were committed by isolated groups of the baser sort, breaking loose from restraint, which the Finnish Socialist party does not attempt to palliate. The number of people killed has been variously estimated. In the book compiled from official documents by Dr. Henning Söderhjelm the actual tally is 624, and the most biased estimates do not mount much above a thousand. It is well

to remember these figures for the purpose of comparison, and to bear in mind that they were not executions by a government but the work of mobs which had defied their government.

The immediate outcome of this general strike was a success. The Agrarian Party swung over to the Socialists, and the bills which the Socialists had presented were enacted. But the Socialist measures were passed only to be delayed, and they were delayed only to cause another general strike. As a result, civil strife broke out again in January 1918, with a Red government establishing itself in the towns of the south, and the White Guard organizing itself under General Mannerheim in the impregnable morasses of the north. Left to themselves, the Whites were defeated.

From this time on the fate of popular government in Finland was bound up with the general situation in Europe. First came the "peace" treaty of Brest-Litovsk. There the representatives of the White elements appeared in order to give their sanction to the dismemberment and prostration of Soviet Russia, and to extend an invitation to the German imperialists to combat the "menace of Bolshevism" by invading Finland. (This White government was incidentally recognized by France at the same time—a significant preface to present day politics.) Now, Finland contains scarcely more than 3,200,000 inhabitants, and only a relatively small military force, well munitioned and victualled, was needed to destroy the ill-organized Red Guards. In the spring Mannerheim's troops pressed down from the north, and von der Goltz's army established its base and moved upward, and between them the people's government of Finland was macerated out of existence.

The pre-revolutionary voting strength of the Finnish Socialist Party was above 370,000. This body was the backbone of the revolution, and consequently the mainstay of the people's government. An autocrat, under no matter what czar he had perfected his education, could not rule a country while such a large body of people were robust in health, sound in mentality, disciplined in leadership, and undiminished in numerical strength. Nevertheless Mannerheim intended to rule, and the kept classes were unanimous in seconding his intention. To achieve military power was one thing: to suppress all political rivalry was another. Thanks to Mannerheim's sound training under the ancient regime, he was able to combat that infirmity in dealing with the masses which is so constant a source of instability in a capitalist government tainted by the most ordinary standards of human decency.

The details of Mannerheim's methods have no place outside the police court records of sanguinary crime, or the psychoanalyst's monograph on the phenomenon of sadism. Wholesale imprisonment and widespread summary execution represent but the superficial aspects of his attempt to suppress popular (social-democratic) government. According to a report of representatives of all the Scandinavian Socialist parties, conditions in the camps for the detention of Red prisoners have been indescribably horrible. Starvation and filth have accomplished in slow inexorable fashion what lead and steel do happily in a shorter period. This report is corroborated by the independent testimony of a correspondent of the *New Statesman* (London), in a communication dated February 1919. He adds the systematic employment of torture for the purpose of obtaining evidence to the list of the present government's crimes. These statements are now confirmed by an indisputably respectable authority. On the admission of the official head of the Finnish Economic Mission, published in the *New York Times* for May 24, "the White Guards took 70,000 prisoners and promptly put them on trial," condemned a "few" to death, and gave more than 8,000 sentences of more than eight years in prison. Hence the estimates of the representative of the People's Government in America do not require any stretch of the imagination to become credible. Given in round numbers, they err on the side of conservatism.

Executed: 10,000.

Died in prison: 10,000.

Exiled: 50,000.

The *New Statesman* correspondent is probably nearer the correct figure when he asserts that between 15,000 and 20,000 were shot out of hand without any form of trial, and that not less than 13,000 and not more than 18,000 met death in the notorious prison camps between June and October 1918 through lack of food and water. In all about 100,000 Socialists out of a total electorate of 900,000 have been either killed or disfranchised. Naturally those who were promptly executed were the leaders in the Finnish Socialist movement, educated for their positions by more than a decade of slow parliamentary experiment. Hence when the chief of the Finnish Economic Mission informs us that the erstwhile rank and file Socialists are "bitter against the leaders who deserted them," it is plain that he uses the word "desert" in a peculiarly Pickwickian, or diplomatic sense.

With thousands of their fellows killed, their leaders executed or exiled, their funds gone, their most active members imprisoned, their journals suppressed, their political activity curtailed, one would

suppose that the Finnish Socialists might well weaken in enthusiasm for their creed. For theirs was a martyrdom without the consolations of eternal beatitude. The statistics of the latest election prove otherwise. The new Socialist representatives number 80 out of a total of 200, and when due allowance is made for the starved, the executed, the exiled, and the jailed it appears that the Party has positively gained in strength under persecution. Notwithstanding their position, the Socialists are not represented in the present government, and as long as the dictatorship of Mannerheim continues—with the connivance and subsidy of the Big Four—practically one-half of the population of Finland will be living under an alien and autocratic rule.

We have now reached a point where it is possible to estimate what recognition of Finland by the Allies implies. Primarily it carries on an important governmental tradition—continuity of policy. The Allies have stepped into the place vacated by the defeated autocracy of Germany, and are supporting the methods so ably developed by the Mannerheim-Von der Goltz regime. This support has been of threefold nature: financial, munitionary, and moral. As for the first, it is pretty well authenticated that a shipment of gold, intended to stiffen the Kerensky regime before the American government realized that the first republic was on its last legs, was halted before it reached Russia, and that it has since been diverted into the channels of such law and order as White Terror stands for. Since the debacle of Germany the munitions have naturally been supplied from Allied sources, including America, and the British fleet has gone so far as to contribute naval support to military operations around the Baltic. This has strengthened the internal control of the counter-revolutionists, and has made possible an interventionist campaign in Russia. Finally, the Allies have backed these material contributions with a "moral" offensive. They have taken the opportunity through the daily press to whitewash the sanguinary exploits of the White Guard, and to reinforce this expression of approval by diplomatic recognition of the government which this guard keeps in power. Thus the perpetrators of a wholesale reign of terror were received openly into the ranks of the defenders of Belgium against the iron rule of Germany. Doubtless they will prove to be valuable adjuncts to the present League of Governments.

The story of the White Terror discloses the manifest unfitness of the Mannerheim government to rule Finland. Was it in spite of this unfitness or because of it that the Allies have bolstered it up?

The question becomes pertinent when one inquires—unfitness for what? Unfitness obviously for association with free peoples, with governments that exist by the consent of the governed, with those that deny that there is any necessary nexus between might and right. But the covert clique of governments that has taken unto itself the task of controlling the world is not concerned with these old-fashioned liberal shibboleths. It exists to keep the economic status quo intact, and it is willing to utilize any more or less powerful group which has the same end in view. All the better if in the Baltic region the Allied governments can supply munitions, money, and moral authority, and allow the hired forces of the Junker-capitalist groups to do the dirty work.

There is an obvious fitness in the Mannerheim government for the commission of the sanguinary task of extirpation imposed upon it by the logic of the situation in Russia. Finland is a bulwark against Bolshevism: the stronger the present government becomes, the stronger grows this bulwark. With plenty of material equipment, such for example as the famous Lewisite exterminator now in the hands of the United States Government, there is no reason to suppose that a White Guard invading Russia should not be able to live up to its past performances, and possibly (for Lewisite seems to make it possible) to go beyond its best achievements in the way of butchery and torture. Three million Soviet adherents in slavery, and three hundred thousand ready for execution, would represent the scale of extermination and suppression conformable to the requirements of the Russian situation. Doubtless the Soviet system could be swiftly prostrated by such an application of Finnish law and order, and a gentlemen's government, consisting of the remaining population (if any) could be erected, in accordance with the principles of self-determination, nationality, and democracy.

Apparently the Prussic spirit is unconquerable. It has left the corpse of Germany only to enter the governments of the Allies. In Germany however it had the decency to expose the nakedness of its brutality, whilst with the Allies it is petticoated in President's English. The situation about the Baltic throws a white light upon that struggle of nations which is also a struggle of classes. By means of its illumination we can penetrate the "hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force" and realize how far the economically autocratic democracies, led by America, have fallen from their grand and utterly unfulfilled aim of setting the world free.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

Turmoil in Spain

SPAIN IS IN UPHEAVAL today through the contemporaneous maturing of two great movements, each aiming at a transformation of the political and social order of the nation. The one is called in Spain the "regionalist" movement; the other, the Spanish manifestation of the same social unrest which is sweeping the world, is industrial in character and aims at nothing less than the social revolution. The repressive measures now being taken in Barcelona against the syndicalistic and revolutionary socialist agitators, coming as they do on the heels of the spectacular political events of December and January, make confusion between the two movements very easy when they are viewed from abroad; all the more since the regionalist movement is itself a very complex one, taking on different aspects in different places and provoking in each case different reactions on the part of the various political parties in Spain.

The "regionalist" movement, as a whole, is a concerted attack on the Spanish bureaucratic government centralized in Madrid. It is, in other words, a political movement, aiming at a decentralization of governmental control by a recognition of the great historic "regions" of Spain, to be erected into autonomous, or even into independent states, with the national unity entrusted to a system of federalization of some form or other. In two regions, particularly, this agitation for regional autonomy is intensified by a local nationalistic propaganda of more or less ancient origin. The Basques and the Catalonians, by virtue of their non-Spanish language, literature, and race, are appealing to the principle of self-determination for "oppressed" nationalities. The enthusiasm thus imparted to the movement in these regions has made it powerful enough to become an issue throughout the whole peninsula, where the problem of bureaucratic maladministration is just as serious as in the Basque provinces or in Catalunya. The "Spanish," as opposed to the Basque and Catalonian, autonomist program is, in fact, only a device of the Spanish constitutional parties to find a formula whereby the dissatisfaction with the present monarchy general throughout the country may be removed, while at the same time making all possible concessions to Basque and Catalonian nationalism.

The "Spanish" movement, lacking the separatist patriotic animus, aims simply at a political reorganization of the nation, as the basis of a moral and social renovation of government in Spain. The proposed reorganization is however radical enough to arouse determined opposition in bureaucratic

circles, and in all those social groups, the aristocracy, the clergy, the army, which most directly profit by the present system of centralization. The Spanish monarchy is of the approved constitutional type. The King governs in name only, while the real "government" rests in a cabinet, responsible to the Cortes, which is in turn elected by a universal and obligatory suffrage for men over twenty-five. While the age limit for voting might seem rather high, a very considerable case can be made out for the democratic character of the Spanish constitution. In actual operation the constitution does not show all the virtues it seems to promise on paper. The cabinet has control of the entire administration of the country through its power of appointment to the executive offices of the state, the political provinces, and the larger municipalities. This power it is able to exercise in controlling, not only the vote of the deputies to the Cortes, but also the local election machinery. Hence political "bossism" on the one hand; and on the other a spoils system which makes politics a matter of group warfare and compromise, rather than a conflict of ideas. A defect of theory also develops in this mechanism as it radiates over the Peninsula and encounters the thirteen ancient geographical, economic, and social regions, differing in habits, interests, traditions, and even in language, out of which the modern Spanish state has been constructed and of which only the two Castilles and Andalucia may properly be called Spain. For the centralized government operates through general laws and regulations applicable to the nation as a whole. In order thus to satisfy its specific individual needs, a given locality or region must appeal to the central government, where it meets not only bureaucratic inefficiency or rapacity, but also the conflicting interests of other regions, each competing for special favors and each jealous of regional discriminations.

The Spanish regionalists contend that these evils can be corrected by reconstituting the government from the bottom up. They would, first of all, abolish the present forty-nine political and administrative provinces, which date from 1833. Then they would establish complete municipal autonomy, build up from representatives of the municipalities a parliament to govern each of the thirteen ancient "regions," and finally reach the state government, whose functions would be strictly limited to inter-regional, as we would say, interstate, affairs. Extreme regionalists would make participation in this central government on the part of the regions op-

tional, and at all times free. Others would give greatest strength to the national unity. In the one case, we should get a state as loosely centralized as the British Empire; in the other a union as compact as that of the United States.

This program finds its major support in the so-called parties of the left, the Reformists, the Republicans and Radicals, the Socialists. Since 1898, moreover, the government parties, Liberal and Conservative, have been progressively inclined to concessions in the direction of these proposed reforms. They have never gone much farther, however, than a proposal of municipal autonomy coupled with general changes in systems of appointment and election, judicial procedure, and methods of taxation.

While doubtless the bureaucracy could thus compromise at almost any time with the "Spanish" regionalist movement, it has never been able to pacify the nationalists of Catalunya with such superficial changes. All the forces of discontent which operate in Spain generally rage with particular violence in the region of Barcelona, Gerona, Tarragona, and Lerida. These districts, owing to their wealth in water power, have a monopoly of the cotton-textile industries in Spain. With one-tenth of the total population of the nation, Catalunya pays one-fifth of the taxes, buys one-half of the imports, and sells one-third of the exports of the whole nation. No amount of special legislation on the part of Madrid has ever reconciled the Catalonians to the control by the central government of these great and separate interests.

This stubbornness is the product of an idealistic middle class movement, now nearly a century old. We do not make it older than that for several reasons: first of all, Catalunya has been, since the twelfth century, identified with the destinies of the rest of Spain. Furthermore, the autonomy she now demands is not the autonomy she lost in 1715. But more important still, the present fervor of nationalism among the Catalans is of nineteenth century manufacture and has gone through the same process of development, which, since the French Revolution, has characterized all nationalisms. In the first half of the past century, Catalan nationalism was a matter of philological and anthropological research. Philologists discovered the distinctness of the Catalan dialect, its affiliations with Southern France, the Provencal type of its literature. From the pedants the patriotic torch passed, after the "Floral Games" of 1858, into the hands of the poets. Between 1860 and 1880 we have to seek in Catalan literature the nearer origins of a definitely anti-Spanish spirit. The years between 1880 and 1898 we may distinguish as the political era of Catalan nationalism. Then political societies began

to flourish, with declarations of independence and programs for regional autonomy. Not less than ten predecessors to the recent petition of November 25 are to be counted in these years, the most important being that signed at Manresa in 1892. After the crisis in Catalanian industry, resulting from the Cuban and Spanish-American war, the nationalistic movement assumed its present industrial character, industrial, that is, in the Spanish sense of the term. For since that time, the nationalistic sentiment has been identified with the cause of prosperity, protection, and the full dinner-pail. It has won to its side the important industrial capitalists and large elements among the business and working classes. At no time however has it interested those proletarian energies which are now concentrated in the agitations of the Syndicalist Union or the revolutionary General Federation of Labor. The present Catalan League represents the fusion of Conservatives, Liberals, Reformists, Radicals, Republicans, and Socialists. To the left of this it does not go.

As compared with the Catalanian movement, the Basque agitation for regionalism presents only the distinctive trait that in the Basque Provinces powerful Carlist elements, of clerical and definitely reactionary tendencies, seem to have taken control of the movement in some localities. The impulse here is the same that translates itself in France and Italy into the demand for proportional representation. Various local majorities expect, through regional autonomy, to make good a power they can never hope to realize as a weak national minority. Both the Basque and the Catalanian demands would be satisfied with the extreme program of the Spanish regionalists. Neither movement, that is, is strictly separatist in character. In fact, the petition of last November is, in this respect, less radical than the constitution of 1892. The same reservation applies to the question of the monarchy. Since 1898, the Catalan movement has known moments when the republicans were in a majority. As a whole, the Catalanists could not regard the monarchy as incompatible with any form of autonomy which would definitely rid them of bureaucratic control from Madrid. The Basque movement meanwhile has powerful enemies of the present dynasty, who prefer however something still more reactionary and absolutistic.

The regionalist movement, in its three aspects, bears thus only a tactical relation to the revolutionary labor movement, which is as hostile to the regionalist programs of political reform as it is to the centralized government. The subversive General Federation of Labor usually finds, that is, in the conditions of passive regional resistance to the government, a favorable opportunity for revolutionary

agitation and for a general strike. On the other hand the regionalists utilize the threat of such industrial troubles to coerce the government, which just as stolidly is inclined to retort by masking general repression of regionalist propaganda behind its assault on "anarchy." Francisco Ferrer is only the most celebrated victim of such tactics.

The best disciplined groups of industrial revolutionists are in Catalunya and Andalucia. Barcelona contributes about 65,000 members to the revolutionary Federation, while about three thousand more come from Lerida, Gerona, Tarragona, and the agricultural regions. Not over forty thousand paid up members report to the Federation centers in Andalucia, with the strongest groups in Seville, Cordoba, Cadiz, and Malaga. These figures, the latest issued by the Federation, are based on reports of 1911. Since 1915, new sections have been formed in La Corunya, Saragossa, Valencia, Gijon, and La Felguera. The Woodworkers and Builders of Bilbao and the Glass Workers of Madrid are separately organized but are affiliated with the Federation. Solidariedad Obrera, the organ of the Federation, claims at present a total of 107,000 adherents for the whole group. But its action is not by any means so limited as these figures, or its open organization, would imply. In the last four months there have been general strikes in Lugo, Burgos, Badajoz, and Valladolid of "bolshhevik" character, though these localities are not claimed by the revolutionary organization.

These figures suggest, not so much weakness, as lack of discipline on the part of labor forces in Spain. We are doubtless witnessing only the begin-

ning of a period of turmoil, which will be of propagandist, rather than reconstructive character, and tend to a compacter organization of the revolutionary elements of the country. Of this trend the Government has been perfectly aware. While it was meeting the regionalist agitation with a revised version of the Maura proposal for local autonomy made in 1907—Maura was again chairman of the Extra-Parliamentary Commission—it was, under Romanos, meeting the revolutionary threat with the measures of social reform well known to English and American liberalism. Along with lavish concessions in wages, working hours, and protection for working men, it was organizing labor in its own public utilities, and stimulating cooperative management between owners and workers in private industries. In both of these tactics it could rely on a definite preponderance of governmental forces. Meanwhile, however, the military clique accomplished during April what amounted to a seizure of the government, creating circumstances which compelled the resignation of Romanos, and left labor face to face with military reaction in a situation which promises still to seek something else than a political solution. Doubtless the present elections, the returns from which are just coming in, will show liberal forces strong enough to restrain the military and to conciliate the workers. The bureaucracy will find itself, when the present crisis passes, still in control; and the Spanish public will find itself in Spain in the presence of organized labor working in relative harmony with organized capital.

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON.

India's Revolution

IN THE LIGHT of the evolutionary growth of revolutions and their constant approach to more ideal goals, it is of extreme interest to estimate the significance of the present revolution in India. This revolution has come out of desperation, and to the goal of absolute freedom it must go. Whether it succeeds now or not, it has already contributed a new and radical idea to the progress of humanity, which will be a permanent gift to international thought. This contribution comes, perhaps, nearer the goal of idealism than that of any other revolution, because the contribution is that highly idealistic and inspiring one of passive resistance.

In its inception, the Indian revolution was passive in character. Though in the latter stages it lost its original character and switched towards active resistance, yet it never lost sight of the spirit of passivism. Even the recourse to violence, forced

upon the people by the British government, was more a protest against brutalities and barbarities committed on the unarmed and unfed masses by the alien autocrats. It was adopted only when they were not allowed to voice their silent protest against the alien laws that legalize and perpetuate the enslavement of themselves—one-fifth of humanity.

The desire for freedom has been growing stronger and stronger day by day. In 1917 the British authorities recognized the revolutionary tendencies by the appointment of the Rowlatt Commission to investigate revolutionary conspiracies in India. By this act alone they acknowledged the invalidity of their title to rule India against the will of her 315 millions of people. In 1919, driven to desperation by the continued growth of the revolutionary movement, the Government introduced the infamous Rowlatt Bills and had them passed against the

unanimous voice of the Indian members of the Legislature Council who are, of course, in the minority. These Rowlatt Acts revived the Spanish Inquisition and the Star Chamber of the Tudor and Stuart period, in their worst forms. According to their provisions:

1. Any Indian is subject to arrest without trial, upon suspicion, and detention without trial for an unlimited duration of time.

2. The burden of proof rests upon the accused.

3. The accused is kept ignorant of the names of his accusers and of witnesses against him. The accused is not confronted with his accusers or with witnesses against him, and is entitled only to a written account of the offenses attributed to him.

4. The accused is deprived of the help of a lawyer, and no witnesses are allowed in his defense.

5. The accused is given a secret trial, before a Commission of three High Court Judges, who may sit at any place they deem fit—in a cellar if they choose. The method of their procedure or their findings may not be made public.

6. Trial by jury is denied. The right of appeal is denied. "No order under this Act shall be called into question in any court, and no suit or prosecution or other legal proceeding shall be made against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act."

7. The accused may be convicted of an offense with which he is not charged.

8. The prosecution "shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence." Prosecution may accept evidence of absent witnesses. The witnesses may be dead, or may never have existed.

9. The authorities are given power to use "any and every means" in carrying out the law and in obtaining confessions. In other words, torture.

10. Any person *possessing* "seditious" documents, pictures or words, intending that the same shall be published or circulated, is liable to arrest and imprisonment. According to the definition of "sedition," absence of affection for the British Government would be legally held to mean disaffection against it.

11. Men who have served prison terms for political offenses may be restricted to certain specific areas, must report regularly to the police, cannot change address without notification of authorities, and must give securities for good behavior. They can never thereafter write on or discuss or attend meetings on any subject of public importance including even social, religious, and educational.

12. Any person (even the family) voluntarily associating with an ex-political prisoner may be arrested and imprisoned.

13. Search without warrant of any suspected place or home is provided for.

The people of India, led by that great passive resistance advocate, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and that spirited soul, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, raised their voice

of protest by observing the 6th of April as a national Day of Humiliation and Prayer. All over India shops were shut and general mourning was observed as a silent protest against the passage of the Rowlatt Bills. But undue interference of the authorities prevented them from even making a passive demonstration of protest. Shops were opened at the point of bayonets, passive resistance leaders were kidnapped and transferred to unknown destinations, and, according to the London Herald, twelve persons in one city were *flogged for destroying government notices*.

For a number of days following the Day of Humiliation and Prayer, the country was quiet. But suddenly, on April 11, the whole of India, from Bombay to Calcutta and from Kashmir to Madras, went on a general strike. That day witnessed the greatest display of passivism the world has ever seen. People threw themselves in front of tram cars and moving trains, and succeeded in their attempts to induce their fellow-workers to stop work. They refrained from picketing and all other direct action.

This extreme passive renunciation, the like of which is not to be found in the history of any country, brought in that extraordinary unanimity among all classes and all creeds. High and low, rich and poor, Hindu and Parsee, Mohammedan and Brahmin, were solidly united against the foreign rulers, for the emancipation of their Motherland. Hindus went to Moslem mosques and prayed along with their Mohammedan comrades in the orthodox Mohammedan style; and the Mohammedans went to the Hindu temples and prayed in the orthodox Hindu style, clasping the hands of their Hindu brothers as they knelt, praying for the same great ideal—the freedom of India. Such a thing as this is unique; it is possible only in India where freedom of toleration for differences of opinion exists in practice, and is not a dead letter. This fraternization of two widely different religious sects is a contribution to the real civilization which is to come, and India is well proud of it. Though the revolution may be suppressed by sheer brute force, still this contribution will live through all time.

Even with this fraternization the British officials interfered. Mosques and Temples were ordered closed and surrounded by police and military guards. The people were forced to disperse by fire from machine guns and bombs from aeroplanes—the "civilized" weapons of Christian nations.

Naturally, as might have been expected in any other country, passive protest of the masses was ineffective, and the people, losing patience, resorted to active methods. They began destroying banks

and postoffices, demolishing government buildings, destroying bridges and means of communication, blowing up railway trains carrying troops to kill them, and attacking Englishmen. All this was by way of open challenge to the right of alien domination and economic exploitation.

It was at this juncture that Mr. M. K. Gandhi called upon the people participating in the passive resistance movement to refrain from all further acts of violence, declaring that attacks upon Englishmen and other lawless acts constituted a blot on the movement for which the people should atone. He then fixed three days for fasting in atonement for acts of violence. And, according to the *London Times* for April 25, his followers did three days fasting as "penance."

But the situation was out of control. It became so serious that the Governor General, on the 14th of April, announced in unmistakable terms, that he was "satisfied that a state of open rebellion" existed in India. Thereafter, Mr. Gandhi retired from the field, and the moderate elements—the Home Rulers—rallied to the side of the Government and denounced the movement, thus repeating the history of the Russian Revolution of 1905.

New India, however, had tasted of the cup of freedom and went on its march toward emancipation. By the 20th of the month nearly half of the entire country was placed under martial law. The following day the Governor General issued an ordinance ordering deportation to the Andaman Islands for life, or the extreme form of punishment, for political suspects tried under martial law. He forbade the publication of all newspapers except those first passed upon and censored by government agents.

Following the martial law order, all news from India, meager as it had always been, ceased: It was not until the Afghans on the northwestern frontier invaded India on the 9th of May that any news was permitted to reach America. The news stated that the Afghans were guarding the Khyber and Bolan passes, the only two passes connecting India with Afghanistan, and through Afghanistan with Russia. The Afghans further sent a mission to Moscow, thereby violating the treaty of 1880, by which the British had forced them to relinquish their right to treat independently with other nations.

These facts are especially significant when we consider that the Afghans were supplied with machine guns, apparently from some European source, and that Hindu revolutionists have been stationed in Moscow working with the Russian Socialist Government since November, 1917. Furthermore,

an article published in the *Bombay Times* of April 15th stated that the Bolsheviki had forwarded £25,000 sterling to Bombay. The same paper quoted a telegram from Helsingfors, in March, predicting the outbreak.

News coming from India at the present time is very meager. But this is certain: the revolution is on, as also are the massacres perpetrated by the British on the masses—atrocities compared with which German barbarities in Belgium sink to nothingness. These atrocities are carried on by the very power which has been given the "mandatory" of practically half the habitable world by the conference of old diplomats sitting at Versailles. This much is also certain: Britain will sacrifice much of that habitable area before she will give up India. She will give China to Japan, she will give up many of her other possessions, but desperate and bleeding India, and the route leading to India, she will hold by every means from diplomacy to liquid fire and poison gas.

Whatever the outcome of the present revolution, India has shown that it is not lagging behind any other nation in idealism and radicalism. The Hindus and Mohammedans have been cemented by the closest ties. Younger India has shown to the world what it desires and what it must have for self-existence. India has determined what it needs and it is also determined to get it. The people will not adopt violent means simply for the sake of violence. By birth and by heritage they abhor it, in practice as well as in theory. But if their passive efforts are met by active and brutal opposition, they will not hesitate to adopt those measures for the time being, to smash to pieces all civilized Christian methods of subjection, and to smash them once for all.

In idealism and radicalism India is not inferior to the inspired idealists of other countries. In some parts of the country the people are attempting to adopt communal ownership of land and property, and to revive their indigenous democratic village community system. They have succeeded in a few sections, such as in the Punjab, where the revolution has gained a strong foothold. The official press states that the "fanatical" Hindus are demanding expropriation of landlords, and communal ownership and control of the earth! It is true that these "illogical" and simple Hindus have always held that the land belongs to the people, and now they are determined to see that this becomes a reality. The social and economic ideals of the people to the north of the Himalayas are not new to the Hindus.

SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE.

Propaganda in Schools

AMERICA'S PART in the great war was just and needed no specious apology. Nevertheless the Department of Education in New York City issued such an apology for use in the schools in the form of A Syllabus of the World War, with instructions to principals of high schools to present the document to all their pupils "in the most efficient and inspiring manner"—to use the language of Mr. Ettinger. All additional material, runs the notice to principals, must be "approved by the principal before it is used in the class room." Apparently the purpose of this publication was to make clear to high-school students the nature of the German system against which we waged war and to expound the reasons which induced our government to take up arms.

In large part the pamphlet is confined to statements of fact which the most exacting historian will not question. Facts, however, do not always tell the whole truth. For example. This syllabus states: "Great Britain responded [to Belgium's appeal in support of her integrity] with a note to Germany warning her to respect Belgium's neutrality, and when Germany, disregarding the warning, invaded Belgium, England declared war, August 4." This is a truth, but not the whole truth. It implies that the invasion of Belgium was the cause of Britain's entrance—an interpretation contrary to the plain record of the British White Book.

On July 29 Sir Edward Grey warned the German Ambassador in London not to be misled into assuming that Great Britain would stand aside in case Germany and France were involved in war; on July 30 he wrote to Sir E. Goschen that Great Britain would not bargain in the matter of Belgian neutrality; on July 31 he stated that the "German government do not expect our neutrality"; on the same day he declared "the preservation of the neutrality of Belgium might be, I would not say a decisive, but an important factor in determining our attitude"; on August 2 (before Belgium was invaded) he assured M. Cambon that "if the German fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British fleet will give all protection in its power." Is it too much to say, therefore, that on this vital point the syllabus misleads teacher and student?

The account (page 42) of the Russian Revolution is, to put it mildly, not warranted by any authentic records that have come through to us. To as-

cribe Kerensky's failure to "the opposition of the extremists, Lenin and Trotzky," is too simple a solution for a highly complicated historical problem. Lenin and Trotzky are then accused of "betraying" Russia into the hands of the Germans. If this means anything, it means that Lenin and Trotzky consciously and wilfully delivered Russia into the hands of the Kaiser and his war lords. Even the strongest opponent of the Lenin regime must admit that this is at best merely an allegation. To raise it to the level of an established fact to be used in the school room is to fly in the face of all canons of historical evidence. The Brest-Litovsk treaty is represented as the wilful deed of these two leaders—apparently conditions in Russia and the refusal of the Allies to render aid having nothing to do with it.

Finally, by what warrant does the Department of Education carry on a campaign among the school children of New York in support of universal military service as a *permanent public policy* (pages 67-71)? Surely it is a historical fact that general conscription stands upon the books as a temporary measure to meet a great emergency. The advocacy of universal service as a settled national policy is therefore nothing but propaganda—wise, honorable, correct, let us admit for the sake of argument—but nevertheless propaganda. Our schools, it would appear, are not the places where conflicting views of future policy are to be fairly considered, but institutions for propaganda.

To sum up, this pamphlet, considered as a historical document, is no credit to the Department of Education, and as a piece of patriotic argument will defeat its own purposes. America's cause was just—its defense needs no misuse of facts.

What of the children whose minds are to be fashioned under this syllabus? They cannot be cut off from the public libraries where they may learn of things not included in the whole book of complete orthodoxy. This, being so—with boys and girls reading far and wide in many books and magazines, listening to many voices in the outside world—will not the teacher who recites without comment this syllabus come to judgment and be confused and confounded in the presence of open-eyed and wondering youth? Has the Board of Education considered the moral effect of such a predicament upon its teachers?

And where do the trained teachers of history stand? Why was the preparation of this pamphlet taken from their hands and nothing but the

"assistance" of a few of them invited? Are they to be mere phonographs reciting by rote lessons prepared and approved by superintendents and principals? If so, of what use is their long special preparation—their habits of research and truth-testing—their knowledge of the use of documentary evidence? Have we not the

right to ask that history in the schools be entrusted to the collective body of trained historical teachers?

If this syllabus is what we are to expect from the public schools in the coming age, then we must look elsewhere for education.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

The Captains of Finance and the Engineers

IN MORE THAN ONE RESPECT the industrial system of today is notably different from anything that has gone before. It is eminently a system, self-balanced and comprehensive; and it is a system of interlocking mechanical processes, rather than of skilful manipulation. It is mechanical rather than manual. It is an organization of mechanical powers and material resources, rather than of skilled craftsmen and tools; although the skilled workmen and tools are also an indispensable part of its comprehensive mechanism. It is of an impersonal nature, after the fashion of the material sciences, on which it constantly draws. It runs to "quantity production" of specialized and standardized goods and services. For all these reasons it lends itself to systematic control under the direction of industrial experts, skilled technologists, who may be called "production engineers," for want of a better term.

This industrial system runs on as an inclusive organization of many and diverse interlocking mechanical processes, interdependent and balanced among themselves in such a way that the due working of any part of it is conditioned on the due working of all the rest. Therefore it will work at its best only on condition that these industrial experts, production engineers, will work together on a common understanding; and more particularly on condition that they must not work at cross purposes. These technological specialists whose constant supervision is indispensable to the due working of the industrial system constitute the general staff of industry, whose work it is to control the strategy of production at large and to keep an oversight of the tactics of production in detail.

Such is the nature of this industrial system on whose due working depends the material welfare of all the civilized peoples. It is an inclusive system drawn on a plan of strict and comprehensive interdependence, such that, in point of material welfare, no nation and no community has anything to gain at the cost of any other nation or community. In point of material welfare, all the civilized peoples have been drawn together by the state of the industrial arts into a single going concern. And for

the due working of this inclusive going concern it is essential that that corps of technological specialists who by training, insight, and interest make up the general staff of industry must have a free hand in the disposal of its available resources, in materials, equipment, and man power, regardless of any national pretensions or any vested interests. Any degree of obstruction, diversion, or withholding of any of the available industrial forces, with a view to the special gain of any nation or any investor, unavoidably brings on a dislocation of the system; which involves a disproportionate lowering of its working efficiency and therefore a disproportionate loss to the whole, and therefore a net loss to all its parts.

And all the while the statesmen are at work to divert and obstruct the working forces of this industrial system, here and there, for the special advantage of one nation and another at the cost of the rest; and the captains of finance are working, at cross purposes and in collusion, to divert whatever they can to the special gain of one vested interest and another, at any cost to the rest. So it happens that the industrial system is deliberately handicapped with dissension, misdirection, and unemployment of material resources, equipment, and man power, at every turn where the statesmen or the captains of finance can touch its mechanism; and all the civilized peoples are suffering privation together because their general staff of industrial experts are in this way required to take orders and submit to sabotage at the hands of the statesmen and the vested interests. Politics and investment are still allowed to decide matters of industrial policy which should plainly be left to the discretion of the general staff of production engineers driven by no commercial bias.

No doubt this characterization of the industrial system and its besetting tribulations will seem overdrawn. However, it is not intended to apply to any date earlier than the twentieth century, or to any backward community that still lies outside the sweep of the mechanical industry. Only gradually during the past century, while the mechanical in-

dustry has progressively been taking over the production of goods and services, and going over to quantity production, has the industrial system taken on this character of an inclusive organization of interlocking processes and interchange of materials; and it is only in the twentieth century that this cumulative progression has come to a head with such effect that this characterization is now visibly becoming true. And even now it will hold true, visibly and securely, only as applies to the leading mechanical industries, those main lines of industry that shape the main conditions of life, and in which quantity production has become the common and indispensable rule. Such are, for examples: transport and communication, the production and industrial use of coal, oil, electricity and water power, the production of steel and other metals; of wood pulp, lumber and other building materials; of textiles and rubber, as also grain-milling and much of the grain-growing, together with meat-packing and a good share of the stock-raising industry.

There is, of course, a large volume of industry in many lines which has not, or only in part and doubtfully, been drawn into this network of mechanical processes and quantity production, in any direct and conclusive fashion. But these other lines of industry that still stand over on another and older plan of operation are, after all, outliers and subsidiaries of the mechanically organized industrial system, dependent on or subservient to those greater underlying industries which make up the working body of the system, and which therefore set the pace for the rest. And in the main, therefore, and as regards these greater mechanical industries on whose due working the material welfare of the community depends from day to day, this characterization will apply without material abatement.

But it should be added that even as regards these greater, primary and underlying, lines of production the system has not yet reached a fatal degree of close-knit interdependence, balance, and complication; it will still run along at a very tolerable efficiency in the face of a very appreciable amount of persistent derangement. That is to say, the industrial system at large has not yet become so delicately balanced a mechanical structure and process that the ordinary amount of derangement and sabotage necessary to the ordinary control of production by business methods will paralyze the whole outright. The industrial system is not yet sufficiently close-knit for that. And yet, that extent and degree of paralysis from which the civilized world's industry is suffering just now, due to legitimate businesslike sabotage, goes to argue that the date may

not be far distant when the interlocking processes of the industrial system shall have become so closely interdependent and so delicately balanced that even the ordinary modicum of sabotage involved in the conduct of business as usual will bring the whole to a fatal collapse. The derangement and privation brought on by any well organized strike of the larger sort argues to the same effect.

In effect, the progressive advance of this industrial system towards an all-inclusive mechanical balance of interlocking processes appears to be approaching a critical pass, beyond which it will no longer be practicable to leave its control in the hands of business men working at cross purposes for private gain, or to entrust its continued administration to others than suitably trained technological experts, production engineers without a commercial interest. What these men may then do with it all is not so plain; the best they can do may not be good enough; but the negative proposition is becoming sufficiently plain, that this mechanical state of the industrial arts will not long tolerate the continued control of production by the vested interests under the current businesslike rule of incapacity by advisement.

In the beginning, that is to say during the early growth of the machine industry, and particularly in that new growth of mechanical industries which arose directly out of the Industrial Revolution, there was no marked division between the industrial experts and the business managers. That was before the new industrial system had gone far on the road of progressive specialization and complexity, and before business had reached an exactly large scale; so that even the business men of that time, who were without special training in technological matters, would still be able to exercise something of an intelligent oversight of the whole, and to understand something of what was required in the mechanical conduct of the work which they financed and from which they drew their income. Not unusually the designers of industrial processes and equipment would then still take care of the financial end, at the same time that they managed the shop. But from an early point in the development there set in a progressive differentiation, such as to divide those who designed and administered the industrial processes from those others who designed and managed the commercial transactions and took care of the financial end. So there also set in a corresponding division of powers between the business management and the technological experts. It became the work of the technologist to determine, on technological grounds, what could be done in the way of pro-

ductive industry, and to contrive ways and means of doing it; but the business management always continued to decide, on commercial grounds, how much work should be done and what kind and quality of goods and services should be produced; and the decision of the business management has always continued to be final, and has always set the limit beyond which production must not go.

With the continued growth of specialization the experts have necessarily had more and more to say in the affairs of industry, but always their findings as to what work is to be done and what ways and means are to be employed in production have had to wait on the findings of the business managers as to what will be expedient for the purpose of commercial gain. This division between business management and industrial management has continued to go forward, at a continually accelerated rate, because the special training and experience required for any passably efficient organization and direction of these industrial processes has continually grown more exacting, calling for special knowledge and abilities on the part of those who have this work to do and requiring their undivided interest and their undivided attention to the work in hand. But these specialists in technological knowledge, abilities, interest, and experience, who have increasingly come into the case in this way—inventors, designers, chemists, mineralogists, soil experts, crop specialists, production managers and engineers of many kinds and denominations—have continued to be employees of the captains of industry, that is to say, of the captains of finance, whose work it has been to commercialize the knowledge and abilities of the industrial experts and turn them to account for their own gain.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add the axiomatic corollary that the captains have always turned the technologists and their knowledge to account in this way only so far as would serve their own commercial profit, not to the extent of their ability or to the limit set by the material circumstances or by the needs of the community. The result has been, uniformly and as a matter of course, that the production of goods and services has advisedly been stopped short of productive capacity, by curtailment of output and by derangement of the productive system. There are two main reasons for this, and both have operated together throughout the machine era to stop industrial production increasingly short of productive capacity. (a) The commercial need of maintaining a profitable price has led to an increasingly imperative curtailment of the output, as fast as the advance of the industrial arts has enhanced the productive capacity.

And (b) the continued advance of the mechanical technology has called for an ever-increasing volume and diversity of special knowledge, and so has left the businesslike captains of finance continually farther in arrears, so that they have been less and less capable of comprehending what is required in the ordinary way of industrial equipment and personnel. They have therefore, in effect, maintained prices at a profitable level by curtailment of output rather than by lowering production-cost per unit of output, because they have not had such a working acquaintance with the technological facts in the case as would enable them to form a passably sound judgment of suitable ways and means for lowering production-cost; and at the same time, being shrewd business men, they have been unable to rely on the hired-man's loyalty of technologists whom they do not understand. The result has been a somewhat distrustful blindfold choice of processes and personnel and a consequent enforced incompetence in the management of industry, a curtailment of output below the needs of the community, below the productive capacity of the industrial system, and below what an intelligent control of production would have made commercially profitable.

Through the earlier decades of the machine era these limitations imposed on the work of the experts by the demands of profitable business and by the technical ignorance of the business men, appears not to have been a heavy handicap, whether as a hindrance to the continued development of technological knowledge or as an obstacle to its ordinary use in industry. That was before the mechanical industry had gone far in scope, complexity, and specialization; and it was also before the continued work of the technologists had pushed the industrial system to so high a productive capacity that it is forever in danger of turning out a larger product than is required for a profitable business. But gradually, with the passage of time and the advance of the industrial arts to a wider scope and a larger scale, and to an increasing specialization and standardization of processes, the technological knowledge that makes up the state of the industrial arts has called for a higher degree of that training that makes industrial specialists; and at the same time any passably efficient management of industry has of necessity drawn on them and their special abilities to an ever-increasing extent. At the same time and by the same shift of circumstances, the captains of finance, driven by an increasingly close application to the affairs of business, have been going farther out of touch with the ordinary realities of productive industry; and, it is to be admitted, they have also continued increasingly to distrust the

technological specialists, whom they do not understand, but whom they can also not get along without. The captains have per force continued to employ the technologists, to make money for them, but they have done so only reluctantly, tardily, sparingly, and with a shrewd circumspection; only because and so far as they have been persuaded that the use of these technologists was indispensable to the making of money.

One outcome of this persistent and pervasive tardiness and circumspection on the part of the captains has been an incredibly and increasingly uneconomical use of material resources, and an incredibly wasteful organization of equipment and man power in those great industries where the technological advance has been most marked. In good part it was this discreditable pass, to which the leading industries had been brought by these one-eyed captains of industry, that brought the regime of the captains to an inglorious close, by shifting the initiative and discretion in this domain out of their hands into those of the investment bankers. By custom the investment bankers had occupied a position between or overlapping the duties of a broker in corporate securities and those of an underwriter of corporate flotations—such a position, in effect, as is still assigned them in the standard writings on corporation finance. The increasingly large scale of corporate enterprise, as well as the growth of a mutual understanding among these business concerns, also had its share in this new move. But about this time, too, the "consulting engineers" were coming notably into evidence in many of those lines of industry in which corporation finance has habitually been concerned.

So far as concerns the present argument the ordinary duties of these consulting engineers have been to advise the investment bankers as to the industrial and commercial soundness, past and prospective, of any enterprise that is to be underwritten. These duties have comprised a painstaking and impartial examination of the physical properties involved in any given case, as well as an equally impartial auditing of the accounts and appraisal of the commercial promise of such enterprises, for the guidance of the bankers or syndicate of bankers interested in the case as underwriters. On this ground working arrangements and a mutual understanding presently arose between the consulting engineers and those banking houses that habitually were concerned in the underwriting of corporate enterprises.

The effect of this move has been two-fold: experience has brought out the fact that corporation finance, at its best and soundest, has now become a matter of comprehensive and standardized bureau-

cratic routine, necessarily comprising the mutual relations between various corporate concerns, and best to be taken care of by a clerical staff of trained accountants; and the same experience has put the financial houses in direct touch with the technological general staff of the industrial system, whose surveillance has become increasingly imperative to the conduct of any profitable enterprise in industry. But also, by the same token, it has appeared that the corporation financier of nineteenth-century tradition is no longer of the essence of the case in corporation finance of the larger and more responsible sort. He has, in effect, come to be no better than an idle wheel in the economic mechanism, serving only to take up some of the lubricant.

Since and so far as this shift out of the nineteenth century into the twentieth has been completed, the corporation financier has ceased to be a captain of industry and has become a lieutenant of finance; the captaincy having been taken over by the syndicated investment bankers and administered as a standardized routine of accountancy, having to do with the flotation of corporation securities and with their fluctuating values, and having also something to do with regulating the rate and volume of output in those industrial enterprises which so have passed under the hand of the investment bankers.

By and large, such is the situation of the industrial system today, and of that financial business that controls the industrial system. But this state of things is not so much an accomplished fact handed on out of the recent past; it is only that such is the culmination in which it all heads up in the immediate present, and that such is the visible drift of things into the calculable future. Only during the last few years has the state of affairs in industry been obviously falling into the shape so outlined, and it is even yet only in those larger and pace-making lines of industry which are altogether of the new technological order that the state of things has reached this finished shape. But in these larger and underlying divisions of the industrial system the present posture and drift of things is unmistakable. Meantime very much still stands over out of that regime of rule-of-thumb, competitive sabotage, and commercial log-rolling, in which the businesslike captains of the old order are so altogether well at home, and which has been the best that the captains have known how to contrive for the management of that industrial system whose captains they have been. So that wherever the production experts are now taking over the management, out of the dead hand of the self-made captains, and

wherever they have occasion to inquire into the established conditions of production, they find the ground cumbered with all sorts of incredible makeshifts of waste and inefficiency—such makeshifts as would perhaps pass muster with any moderately stupid elderly layman, but which look like blindfold guesswork to these men who know something of the advanced technology and its working-out.

Hitherto, then, the growth and conduct of this industrial system presents this singular outcome. The technology—the state of the industrial arts—which takes effect in this mechanical industry is in an eminent sense a joint stock of knowledge and experience held in common by the civilized peoples. It requires the use of trained and instructed workmen—born, bred, trained, and instructed at the cost of the people at large. So also it requires, with a continually more exacting insistence, a corps of highly trained and specially gifted experts, of divers and various kinds. These, too, are born, bred, and trained at the cost of the community at large, and they draw their requisite special knowledge from the community's joint stock of accumulated experience. These expert men, technologists, engineers, or whatever name may best suit them, make up the indispensable General Staff of the industrial system; and without their immediate and unremitting guidance and correction the industrial system will not work. It is a mechanically organized structure of technical processes designed, installed, and conducted by these production engineers. Without them and their constant attention the industrial equipment, the mechanical appliances of industry, will foot up to just so much junk. The material welfare of the community is unreservedly bound up with the due working of this industrial system, and therefore with its unreserved control by the engineers, who alone are competent to manage it. To do their work as it should be done these men of the industrial general staff must have a free hand, unhampered by commercial considerations and reservations; for the production of the goods and services needed by the community they neither need nor are they in any degree benefited by any supervision or interference from the side of the owners. Yet the owners, now represented, in effect, by the syndicated investment bankers, continue to control the industrial experts and limit their discretion arbitrarily, for their own commercial gain, regardless of the needs of the community.

Hitherto these men who so make up the general staff of the industrial system have not drawn together into anything like a self-directing working force; nor have they been vested with anything more

than an occasional, haphazard, and tentative control of some disjointed sector of the industrial equipment, with no direct or decisive relation to that personnel of productive industry that may be called the officers of the line and the rank and file. It is still the unbroken privilege of the financial management and its financial agents to "hire and fire." The final disposition of all the industrial forces still remains in the hands of the business men, who still continue to dispose of these forces for other than industrial ends. And all the while it is an open secret that with a reasonably free hand the production experts would today readily increase the ordinary output of industry by several fold,—variously estimated at some 300 per cent to 1200 per cent of the current output. And what stands in the way of so increasing the ordinary output of goods and services is business as usual.

Right lately these technologists have begun to become uneasily "class-conscious" and to reflect that they together constitute the indispensable General Staff of the industrial system. Their class consciousness has taken the immediate form of a growing sense of waste and confusion in the management of industry by the financial agents. They are beginning to take stock of that all-pervading mismanagement of industry that is inseparable from its control for commercial ends. All of which brings home a realization of their own shame and of damage to the common good. So the engineers are beginning to draw together and ask themselves, "What about it?"

This uneasy movement among the technologists set in, in an undefined and fortuitous way, in the closing years of the nineteenth century; when the consulting engineers, and then presently the "efficiency engineers," began to make scattered corrections in detail, which showed up the industrial incompetence of those elderly laymen who were doing a conservative business at the cost of industry. The consulting engineers of the standard type, both then and since then, are commercialized technologists, whose work it is to appraise the industrial value of any given enterprise with a view to its commercial exploitation. They are a cross between a technological specialist and a commercial agent, beset with the limitations of both and commonly not fully competent in either line. Their normal position is that of an employee of the investment bankers, on a stipend or a retainer, and it has ordinarily been their fortune to shift over in time from a technological footing to a frankly commercial one. The case of the efficiency engineers, or scientific-management experts, is some-

what similar. They too have set out to appraise, exhibit, and correct the commercial shortcomings of the ordinary management of those industrial establishments which they investigate, to persuade the business men in charge how they may reasonably come in for larger net earnings by a more closely shorn exploitation of the industrial forces at their disposal. During the opening years of the new century a lively interest centered on the views and expositions of these two groups of industrial experts; and not least was the interest aroused by their exhibits of current facts indicating an all-pervading lag, leak, and friction in the industrial system, due to its disjointed and one-eyed management by commercial adventurers bent on private gain.

During these few years of the opening century the members of this informal guild of engineers at large have been taking an interest in this question of habitual mismanagement by ignorance and commercial sabotage, even apart from the commercial imbecility of it all. But it is the young rather than the old among them who see industry in any other light than its commercial value. Circumstances have decided that the older generation of the craft have become pretty well commercialized. Their habitual outlook has been shaped by a long and unbroken apprenticeship to the corporation financiers and the investment bankers; so that they still habitually see the industrial system as a contrivance for the round-about process of making money. Accordingly, the established official Associations and Institutes of Engineers, which are officered and engineered by the elder engineers, old and young, also continue to show the commercial bias of their creators, in what they criticize and in what they propose. But the new generation which has been coming on during the present century are not similarly true to that tradition of commercial engineering that makes the technological man an awestruck lieutenant of the captain of finance.

By training, and perhaps also by native bent, the technologists find it easy and convincing to size up men and things in terms of tangible performance, without commercial afterthought, except so far as their apprenticeship to the captains of finance may have made commercial afterthought a second nature to them. Many of the younger generation are beginning to understand that engineering begins and ends in the domain of tangible performance, and that commercial expediency is another matter. Indeed, they are beginning to understand that commercial expediency has nothing better to contribute to the engineer's work than so much lag, leak, and friction. The four years' experience of the war has also been highly instructive on that head. So

they are beginning to draw together on a common ground of understanding, as men who are concerned with the ways and means of tangible performance in the way of productive industry, according to the state of the industrial arts as they know them at their best; and there is a growing conviction among them that they together constitute the sufficient and indispensable general staff of the mechanical industries, on whose unhindered team-work depends the due working of the industrial system and therefore also the material welfare of the civilized peoples. So also, to these men who are trained in the stubborn logic of technology nothing is quite real that cannot be stated in terms of tangible performance; and they are accordingly coming to understand that the whole fabric of credit and corporation finance is a tissue of make-believe.

Credit obligations and financial transactions rest on certain principles of legal formality which have been handed down from the eighteenth century, and which therefore antedate the mechanical industry and carry no secure conviction to men trained in the logic of that industry. Within this technological system of tangible performance corporation finance and all its works and gestures are completely idle; it all comes into the working scheme of the engineers only as a gratuitous intrusion which could be barred out without deranging the work at any point, provided only that men made up their mind to that effect—that is to say, provided the make-believe of absentee ownership were discontinued. Its only obvious effect on the work which the engineers have to take care of is waste of materials and retardation of the work. So the next question which the engineers are due to ask regarding this timeworn fabric of ownership, finance, sabotage, credit, and unearned income is likely to be: Why cumber it the ground? And they are likely to find the scriptural answer ready to their hand.

It would be hazardous to surmise how, how soon, on what provocation, and with what effect the guild of engineers are due to realize that they constitute a guild, and that the material fortunes of the civilized peoples already lie loose in their hands. But it is already sufficiently plain that the industrial conditions and the drift of conviction among the engineers are drawing together to some such end.

Hitherto it has been usual to count on the interested negotiations continually carried on and never concluded between capital and labor, between the agents of the investors and the body of workmen, to bring about whatever readjustments are to be looked for in the control of productive industry and in the distribution and use of its product. These

negotiations have necessarily been, and continue to be, in the nature of business transactions, bargaining for a price, since both parties to the negotiation continue to stand on the consecrated ground of ownership, free bargain, and self-help; such as the commercial wisdom of the eighteenth century saw, approved and certified it all, in the time before the coming of this perplexing industrial system. In the course of these endless negotiations between the owners and their workmen there has been some loose and provisional syndication of claims and forces on both sides; so that each of these two recognized parties to the industrial controversy has come to make up a loose-knit vested interest, and each speaks for its own special claims as a party in interest. Each is contending for some special gain for itself and trying to drive a profitable bargain for itself, and hitherto no disinterested spokesman for the community at large or for the industrial system as a going concern has cut into this controversy between these contending vested interests. The outcome has been businesslike concession and compromise, in the nature of bargain and sale. It is true, during the war, and for the conduct of the war, there were some half-concerted measures taken by the Administration in the interest of the nation at large, as a belligerent; but it has always been tacitly agreed that these were extraordinary war measures, not to be countenanced in time of peace. In time of peace the accepted rule is still business as usual; that is to say, investors and workmen wrangling together on a footing of business as usual.

These negotiations have necessarily been inconclusive. So long as ownership of resources and industrial plant is allowed, or so long as it is allowed any degree of control or consideration in the conduct of industry, nothing more substantial can come of any readjustment than a concessive mitigation of the owners' interference with production. There is accordingly nothing subversive in these bouts of bargaining between the federated workmen and the syndicated owners. It is a game of chance and skill played between two contending vested interests for private gain, in which the industrial system as a going concern enters only as a victim of interested interference. Yet the material welfare of the community, and not least of the workmen, turns on the due working of this industrial system, without interference. Concessive mitigation of the right to interfere with production, on the part of either one of these vested interests, can evidently come to nothing more substantial than a concessive mitigation.

But owing to the peculiar technological character of this industrial system, with its specialized,

standardized, mechanical, and highly technical interlocking processes of production, there has gradually come into being this corps of technological production specialists, into whose keeping the due functioning of the industrial system has now drifted by force of circumstance. They are, by force of circumstance, the keepers of the community's material welfare; although they have hitherto been acting, in effect, as keepers and providers of free income for the kept classes. They are thrown into the position of responsible directors of the industrial system, and by the same move they are in a position to become arbiters of the community's material welfare. They are becoming class-conscious, and they are no longer driven by a commercial interest, in any such degree as will make them a vested interest in that commercial sense in which the syndicated owners and the federated workmen are vested interests. They are, at the same time, numerically and by habitual outlook, no such heterogeneous and unwieldy body as the federated workmen, whose numbers and scattering interest has left all their endeavors substantially nugatory. In short, the engineers are in a position to make the next move.

By comparison with the population at large, including the financial powers and the kept classes, the technological specialists which come in question here are a very inconsiderable number; yet this small number is indispensable to the continued working of the productive industries. So slight are their numbers, and so sharply defined and homogeneous is their class, that a sufficiently compact and inclusive organization of their forces should arrange itself almost as a matter of course, so soon as any appreciable proportion of them shall be moved by any common purpose. And the common purpose is not far to seek, in the all-pervading industrial confusion, obstruction, waste, and retardation which business as usual continually throws in their face. At the same time they are the leaders of the industrial personnel, the workmen, the officers of the line and the rank and file; and these are coming into a frame of mind to follow their leaders in any adventure that holds a promise of advancing the common good.

To those men, soberly trained in a spirit of tangible performance and endowed with something more than an even share of the sense of workmanship, and endowed also with the common heritage of partiality for the rule of Live and Let Live, the disallowance of an outworn and obstructive right of absentee ownership is not likely to seem a shocking infraction of the sacred realities. That customary right of ownership by virtue of which the vested interests continue to control the industrial system

for the benefit of the kept classes, belongs to an older order of things than the mechanical industry. It has come out of a past that was made up of small things and traditional make-believe. For all the purposes of that scheme of tangible performance that goes to make up the technologist's world, it is without form and void. So that, given time for due irritation, it should by no means come as a surprise if the guild of engineers are provoked to put their heads together and, quite out of hand, disallow that large ownership that goes to make the vested interests and unmake the industrial system. And there stand behind them the massed and rough-handed legions of the industrial rank and file, ill at ease and looking for new things. The older commercialized generation among them would, of course, ask themselves: Why should we worry? What do we stand to gain? But the younger generation, not so hard-bitten by commercial experience, will be quite as likely to ask themselves: What do we stand to lose? And there is the patent fact that such a thing as a general strike of the technological specialists in industry need involve no more than a minute fraction of one per cent of the population; yet it would swiftly bring a collapse of the

old order and sweep the timeworn fabric of finance and sabotage into the discard for good and all.

Such a catastrophe would doubtless be deplorable. It would look something like the end of the world to all those persons who take their stand with the kept classes, but it may come to seem no more than an incident of the day's work to the engineers and to the rough-handed legions of the rank and file. It is a situation which may well be deplored. But there is no gain in losing patience with a conjunction of circumstances. And it can do no harm to take stock of the situation and recognize that, by force of circumstance, it is now open to the Council of Technological Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies to make the next move, in their own way and in their own good time. When and what this move will be, if any, or even what it will be like, is not something on which a layman can hold a confident opinion. But so much seems clear, that the industrial dictatorship of the captain of finance is now held on sufferance of the engineers and is liable at any time to be discontinued at their discretion as a matter of convenience.

THORSTEIN VEBLEN.

In My Room I Read and Write

In my room I read and write.
Somewhere men cry out and fight,
Struggling for the thing they need;
Somewhere women reach and take
What time withholds, and wrench and make
Days into something odd and new.
They say words which are wild and true.
They bend life like a rod of glass
That they have heated in the flame
Of their wills. They would know shame
If they did not bring to pass
Mighty things for beauty's sake
And truth's. And they will never sheathe
The sword they fight with while they breathe.
Shelter, clothing, food and ease
May not beat them to their knees;
Need of touch and word, and rest
Will not hold them from the quest.
All in good time, after stress,
As they know well, they shall possess.

Somewhere men and women take
What time withholds, and wrench and make
Life into something strange and new.
Women seek for what is true.
Under wrong, men turn and fight.
In my room I read and write. . .

MARY CAROLYN DAVIES.

THE DIAL

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, *Editor*

CLARENCE BRITTEN

In Charge of the Reconstruction Program:

JOHN DEWEY

THORSTEIN VEBLEN

HELEN MAROT

THE TREATY WITH AUSTRIA IN INCOMPLETE form is now before the American people. So far as may be judged it approaches more nearly the Brest-Litovsk model than the Treaty with Germany. The duty of liberals in the Allied countries toward it is therefore even clearer than toward the German Treaty. It is the duty which rested upon every German and Austrian liberal in regard to the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and which some of them fulfilled. It is to repudiate both compacts utterly, and allow them to be ratified, if it must be, only under protest. No other course of action has any moral sanction. As to its practical value, it is to be noted that already, under vigorous and forthright criticism of liberal journals, the Allied nations are disposed to make the German reply a basis for modification of terms—in other words to substitute a negotiated for a dictated peace.

THE TREATIES WITH GERMANY AND AUSTRIA are a clear proof that, however much the Allies may want a League of Nations, they want other things more. Indeed, France, Japan, and Italy, the three predatory members of the Alliance, from the first regarded the League as a menace to their aggressive policies and made their acquiescence a matter of purchase at a ruinous price. England wishes a League only as a validation of her empire, is unwilling to sacrifice any of her possessive rights, and is under suspicion of seeking to use the mandatory system for imperialistic ends. The United States wants the League, but is unwilling to sacrifice to it her position in the Western Hemisphere. Even with these reservations it might still be possible to launch the League by virtue of the measure of hope and good will that remains in the neutral and defeated nations, including China and Russia, but by the Treaties this last hope is frustrated. The victors will not yield any of the attributes of a "strong peace" to secure the League. On the part of the first four partners this attitude is so bound up with territorial and financial claims as to be readily understood, but on the part of the United States it is explicable only in terms of national hypocrisy and stupidity. No one believes that Mr. Wilson would have sacrificed the essential features of his new world order to the humiliation and spoliation of Germany if he had not realized that the country

behind him demanded such humiliation and spoliation. And to what end? Certain interests in this country may profit by the ruin of German industry, but the business of the United States as a whole can only suffer. We have no legitimate revenge to seek from Germany, no great injury, material or moral, to make even. We have inflicted vastly more harm on Germany than we have received. Our attitude is to be explained solely by a survival of war psychology. We are still stupid and blind from hate, and unfortunately that hate has extended itself to Russia. The Armistice balked us of what we regarded as legitimate prey—the destruction of German cities and the massacre of Germans on German soil—and in these circumstances we have found an outlet for our feeling in our former ally. Thus we have made it impossible to use the forces that are sincerely interested in a new international order, and we are compelled to resort to the doubtful process of wishing such an order on our suspicious and half-unwilling associates. In other words the United States is determined to sacrifice the one tangible object for which it fought, not to material advantage or to calculated revenge, but to a state of mind. And for that state of mind, which blocks his own endeavors, Mr. Wilson is largely responsible. He is reaping the fruit of his panic-stricken war policy. When he suspended free speech and trampled upon opinion, when he gave the country over to the mob law of security leagues and defense societies, when he sold his bonds on atrocity stories and set up a department of public falsehood by way of propaganda, he was preparing exactly such a situation as he will confront on his return—a country which will not renounce any of the fruits of victory which others are gathering, which will not make place for Germany and Russia in the new order of the world, because it is still "in no condition to do business."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S RECENT SPEECHES IN PARIS will do little for his own credit, the service of his country, or the honor of her dead. On May 10 he delivered an address before the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in which he delivered himself of his usual well-laundered sentiments:

My view of the State is that it must stop and listen to

what I have to say, no matter how humble I am. . . . I have always been among those who believe that the greatest freedom of speech was the greatest safety. . . . In this free air of free speech men get into that sort of communication with another which constitutes the basis of all common achievement.

One pauses aghast at this oily hypocrisy. Mr. Wilson knows that there are hundreds of his fellow-citizens in prison for speaking their minds, not to the State but to spies set by the State to trap them. He knows it because he has just commuted the sentence of such a fellow-citizen—William Powell, of Lansing, Michigan—from twenty years to one as punishment for saying in private that the stories of German atrocities were propaganda, that he could not believe in President Wilson, that the war was a rich man's war. One year of confinement in Leavenworth, which, with the unearned increment of tuberculosis, means death, and \$5,000 fine which has already reduced this man's family to beggary! This is President Wilson's conception of free speech. We submit that he has made the French Academy of Political and Moral Sciences the victim of a hoax which would be silly if it were not tragic. Mr. Wilson's Memorial Day Address is likewise notable for establishing a complete antithesis between words and deeds. It has the same fulsome quality as the address to the Academy, the same hollow rhetoric—but here tragically misplaced. "It is delightful. . . . It is more delightful." The world cares little for the stages of Mr. Wilson's hedonism. It cares even less for the tawdry second-hand verbal ornament of one who cherishes the platitude as a figure of speech. But when he makes the death of his soldiers an argument for the cause which he has betrayed, the mind of the reader is divided between amazement at the effrontery and horror at the sacrilege. "Shall I ever speak a word of counsel which is inconsistent with the assurances I gave them when they came over?" This is quoted from his address at New York before his second departure for France. Then it was a promise; now it is a broken promise. "Here I stand consecrated in the spirit of the men who were once my comrades and who are now gone and who left me under eternal bonds of fidelity." One is forced to ask: Where does Mr. Wilson stand? Perhaps at Fiume. What are those eternal bonds? The recognition of the British protectorate in Egypt, the cession of the Saar Valley to France, of South Tyrol to Italy, of Shantung to Japan, the starvation of Russia, the economic war after the war against Germany. It is too much to expect that he should characterize these achievements in truthful language. He has properly left that to Mr. Debs. It is perhaps too much to expect that he should refrain from exalting himself in the light of what he would like to have done in place of these things. But that he should accept them in the name of the men who at his bidding died for a better world is blasphemous.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN CONVENTION at Atlantic City, is pondering no less a problem than the future of the State. Is industrial democracy, so warmly and vaguely recommended by President Wilson, to come as the gift of a government of politically federated geographic areas, controlled by a labor vote, or will this democracy be first arrived at within self-controlled production units, destined finally themselves to achieve federation and to replace the whole geographic-representative system? If Federated labor and all labor is to make an intelligent choice between economic and political means, such a selection must be conditioned by a choice between a future built from the bottom, and one that hangs from the top. With all due deference to the A. F. L.'s deliberations as to the advisability of its participation in a Labor party, it may be said that labor has already made its choice of means and ends. It is not necessary to call on Russia for proof. Great Britain will serve; the December elections found British labor not impotent but politically indifferent; by the extension of the shop-steward movement, and by the initiation of strikes in sharp succession, British labor has won a near-dictatorship and has even succeeded in sweeping into its control a group hitherto subservient to reactionary control—the police. In Spain the Confederacion General del Trabajo devotes itself not to the manipulation of political machinery but to the sabotage of government. Canadian authorities find themselves practically powerless before a labor movement which embraces not only the employees of private industry but an army of the servants of the State. And the United States itself offers sharp enough contrasts between indifferent and ineffective voting and earnest and powerful direct action. The War was not the sole author of today's distrust of the political State; perhaps the Peace has done even more to alienate the people from the political organisms which are supposed to represent them. If the War brought the breakdown of bureaucracy, the Peace has done as great a disservice to the religion of nationalism. The State has been proved both impotent and morally irresponsible. The tendency of the time is toward decentralization and a new beginning. Neither State Socialism nor State Capitalism, with their common dependence on geographic-political machinery, can be accommodated to a new era that promises, not to bring men together in horizontal layers that cut straight across every economic relationship, but to unite them in vertical self-governing units as their work unites them—in the factory in the day time, rather than in the club or on the street corner at night. Direct action is a tremendous protest against the existence of a system of artificial relationships and political indirection, and a demand for the recognition of production groups—economic successors to the family—as the natural elements of a society devoted to the achievement of industrial democracy.

PANEM ET CIRCENSES WAS THE FORMULA FOR THE politicians of Imperial Rome, on which they relied to keep the underlying population from imagining vain remedies for their own hard case. Mutatis mutandis, in the vernacular of the twentieth century, this would be as much as to say, "The Bread Line and the Movies." This is not a literal translation of the Latin motto. It amounts to an equivalence of practice rather than an equivalence of words—panis, of course, is Latin for "bread" rather than "the bread line"; and the nearest modern equivalent for circenses would perhaps be "the ballfield" rather than "the movies." But then, as the Romans would say, tempora mutantur.

Panis, of course signifies "bread" a product of the baker's art, rather than the breadline, which is a product of the associated charities. But in effect, as it comes into this Imperial Roman motto, panem signified that certain salutary minimum of bread without which the underlying population could not be counted on to tolerate the continued rule of the Imperial politicians and of those vested interests that were entrusted to the care of the politicians. So it appears that the politicians of Imperial Rome allowed the underlying population a ration of actual bread, at some cost to the vested interests. It appears that the astute politicians of Imperial Rome dared go no nearer to the modern democratic institution of the bread line. To those democratic statesmen who now bear up the banners of the vested interests—also called the standards of Law and Order—this prodigal conduct of the Roman politicians will perhaps seem weak and little-minded. But something is to be allowed in extenuation of their pusillanimity. The politicians of Imperial Rome had not the use of liberty loans and machine guns; and then the underlying population of that cruder age was perhaps less patient and reasonable, less given to promises and procrastination. Tempora mutantur. The democratic statesmen of the twentieth century are more fortunate in both respects. More particularly, the mechanical appliances for preserving law and order have been greatly perfected; and by suitable fiscal methods the underlying population which is to be "kept in hand" can be induced to pay for these mechanical appliances by which they are to be kept in hand. So the statesmen of the twentieth century are enabled to let the bread line serve in place of the bread, and thereby to save the net output of the Republic's industry more nearly intact for the use of the kept classes.

But in the matter of circenses, too, there has been change and improvement during these intervening centuries since the Glory that was Rome. Political practice runs on a more economical plan in this businesslike age. The Roman circenses appear to have cut somewhat wastefully into the ordinary "earnings" of those vested interests for whose benefit the Roman Imperium was administered; whereas the movies of the twentieth century are a

business proposition in their own right, a source of "earnings" and a vested interest. And in ordinary times of peace or war the movies supply what appears to be required in the way of politically salutary dissipation. Yet in time of stress, as is now evident, something more enticing may be required to distract popular attention securely and keep the underlying population from taking stock of the statesmen's promises and performance. At a critical juncture, when large chances of profit and loss for the vested interests are in the balance, it may be well to take thought and add something to the workday routine of the movies, even at some expense. In case of urgent need, to stabilise a doubtfully manageable popular sentiment, the rant and swagger of many subsidised heroes and the pomp and circumstance and moving show incident to a victory loan should have a salutary use of the same kind; expensive, no doubt, but then the cost need not be borne by those vested interests that are to be safeguarded from the corrosive afterthought of the underlying population. And then there are available such heroic spectacles as a "victory fleet," together with parades, arches, and banners,—miles of banners and square miles of heroic printed matter; costly, no doubt, but also doubtless salutary. So also, in case of need there is something to be made of such a thing as an overseas flight; particularly if it be abundantly staged and somewhat more than abundantly advertised. It is a potent resource, capable of lifting the common man's afterthought into the upper air, instead of letting it run along the ground of material fact, where it might do mischief; costly, no doubt, but then the cost need not be counted so closely, since it is the common man who pays the cost, the same common man who is forever in danger of getting into mischief by reflecting unduly on what the statesmen have been using him for. And, of course, since it is the common man who is to be relieved of afterthought, it is only reasonable that the common man should pay the cost.

Panem et circenses: The Breadline and the Movies.

BENJAMIN GLASSBERG HAS BEEN DISMISSED from the New York public schools, for stating (1) that the Soviet regime of Russia had been maligned in America, (2) that testimony to this effect had been suppressed by the State Department, (3) that a teacher in New York could not tell the truth about Russia. The first two statements are the exact truth as proved by Colonel Robins' testimony before the School Board; the third is proved by Mr. Glassberg's dismissal. So much for suppression of truth. As for the propagation of falsehood, the Board continues to demand that teachers make enthusiastic use of the official Syllabus of the World War exposed by Professor Beard in an article in this issue.

Communications

O TEMPORA, O MORES!

I

SIR: Does anyone realize in what preposterous conditions we live? Do the readers of *THE DIAL* understand that the police can enter my front door at any time, go to my reading-table and there find circulars, pamphlets, and magazines, and that I can be imprisoned for five years for possessing "unlawful literature?" Do you understand that the man who passes on such questions is invariably one who is ignorant and unread and that he naturally classes unknown, poorly and cheaply printed publications with the strange and terrible? Do you realize that one must be first arrested before he can know what is "unlawful?" Do you know that some of Boston's May day paraders were given 18 months for having copies of the *Revolutionary Age* and the *Rebel Worker* in their possession? Do you realize that in proportion as one is intelligent enough to make efforts to learn what is going on in the world he renders himself liable to this five-year seclusion? Do you realize that there is plenty of matter in *THE DIAL* which any magistrate would include in the category of "unlawful" and are you willing meekly to submit to such tyranny?

Marblehead, Mass.

WALTER C. HUNTER.

II

SIR: A good many of us Americans have supposed that the operation of the Draft and Espionage Acts insofar as they imprisoned men and women for holding or expressing views contrary to those of the government must be repulsive to President Wilson's sense of fair play and common decency. We felt that although he championed the Draft Act, and sanctioned the Espionage Act, he did so only from the conviction of war necessity; and we expected him to come out of the war preserving at least the modicum of democratic feeling which would lead him at once to redress, insofar as lay in his power, the wrongs committed under the operation of these measures.

The Armistice came, and we watched and waited. We have been watching and waiting for very nearly seven months, and not a single decent word or act has come from the Administration in regard to the fifteen hundred men and women who have been cast into prison for holding independent opinions in a country which our newspapers and our school-books tell us is a democracy. Instead of an immediate and general amnesty—which would have in a degree cleaned the soiled skirts of the government—we have witnessed a fraudulent play in which batches of fifty political prisoners have from time to time been released or had their sentences reduced in varying measure. Behold our generous government in the role of merciful dispenser of pardons!

This is no amnesty; it is the veriest pretense. Mr. Wilson has been more interested in telling Europe

why he is a democrat and why the rest of the world should imitate the sterling example he sets, than he has been in bringing about a little house-cleaning in the United States. Is it any wonder that the Entente diplomats did not take his fourteen points seriously when they saw how little his professions squared with his practice? Of course, Mr. Wilson may not have wanted them to take his points seriously—but that is a different matter. We have in the continued holding of almost all of the political prisoners a living proof of Mr. Wilson's innate casuistry and capacity for insincere and hypocritical action. The President's conception of democracy is at best flimsy and shallow, for it takes no account of the economic reorganization which must come before any real democracy can exist, but even the idea of democracy which he vaunts and claims himself the spokesman of is being fundamentally violated. So long as he holds these men and women in prison, so long must we consider him actively insincere.

New York City.

RAMON P. COFFMAN.

III

SIR: The writer, like thousands of others, tries to have respect for the press of the country. He feels that the editor is, at least in a way, a representative of public opinion and principles. Yet, if you will just fairly and impartially think it over, you will bear me out when I state that just as independent men in religion are leaving churches, so are people in a political sense losing respect for newspapers and politicians. The writer has twice volunteered in defense of his country, and this last time he deemed it his duty to do his part, small though it was, to end the military jag of the now William the Conqueror.

Much is written in our reactionary press about spies and alien enemies being responsible for the discontent. This is only partly true. Thousands of patriotic people, including soldiers and sailors, are registering kicks. And another thing: who is to blame for these spies being here? I answer advisedly; I was connected with the "Aid for Information," Navy Department, which, stripped of all language, simply means a detective, and was stationed at New Orleans. Six of us were thus detailed. We were informed that we were to act as detectives to detect enemies and draft evaders. Very little time was devoted to this; instead, we were used to coddle and hound soldiers and sailors, to watch their every move. A few of us could not stand these contemptible proceedings and asked to be sent back to the Naval Station, but this so-called American Protective League, better known among us as the American Pimp League, continued these childish tactics until the writer, violating military ethics, at the request of comrades and their sisters and wives who had been insulted, forwarded a sixteen-page memorial to the President of the United States. This never came out in the

press. People who have the proper conception of freedom of speech also desire to see that blessed privilege restored. The Democratic Party, above all other organizations, is stopped from curtailing free speech. It almost owes its life to its stand in 1798 against the Alien and Sedition Laws.

GEO. F. WALLACE.

Memphis, Tenn.

ROADS TO FREEDOM

SIR: There is much in Mr. Durant's critique of Mr. Bertrand Russell's "Roads to Freedom" with which I should like to take issue. His view is so hasty that it fails to grasp the meaning of some of Mr. Russell's most careful arguments. Take this passage, for instance:

He approaches the social question always from the point of view of the artist, and tests each plan by asking "What will it do to art?" . . . there will be a minimum wage for all, even for those who will not work; the creative impulse, the constructive disposition, may be trusted to keep all but a few men busy . . .

But Mr. Bertrand Russell approaches no question from the point of view of the artist; his point of view is that of a philosopher, and it is so broad that it would be futile to try to isolate it as a personal or even typical stand. As a philosopher he is, to be sure, concerned with the significance of the creative in human experience, which he admits is given to but a few. His argument is that a minimum wage, sufficient to meet the bare necessities of life, should be given to all, regardless of whether or not they work. But what man among us is satisfied with the bare necessities of life? Only the elite, those who do not live by bread alone, will not be only too willing to work for their share of the luxuries.

In this little book no differentiation is made between the necessities and the luxuries; but it is not the function of a philosopher to draw the line exceedingly nice between values that would vary in every locality. Contrary to Mr. Durant's assertion, "the powerful competitive impulses of men," as well as the evil tendencies in human nature generally, are carefully presented and examined in this work in such measure as they influence the problems considered.

Indeed, says Mr. Durant, if one may add a word of criticism, the impression left by the book is one of oversimplification and unreality; it has about it an air of jejune and ideologic youth. It has all of Kropotkin's gentleness and many of his delusions; but it has little of Kropotkin's patient grappling with difficult details. It has beauty, such as one has come to expect from Bertrand Russell; but it is a fragile beauty; a sentence or two from Nietzsche, one fears, would smash it into sweet regrets.

There is nothing of the fragile in Mr. Bertrand Russell; his work will weather the Nietzschean bombast, as his spirit and truth will weather persecution. Perhaps that is why England fears him,

as Germany never feared Nietzsche. He is as dangerous as Jesus in the temple, as Socrates in the market place.

In a world and a civilization that pursue facts to the exclusion of truth and idea, Roads to Freedom will doubtless seem to many unreal and simple. Our German philological methods have reached a stage where a man who sets out to organize facts and ideas instead of merely compiling them is regarded with suspicion. His efforts are called youthful by incompetent critics who are in the habit of applying that adjective to what they do not begin to understand.

The same may be said of the charge of simplicity. If "oversimplification" means anything, it means pseudo-simplicity, the characteristic of the monistic mind—briefly the habit of judging every problem, in all its aspects, in terms of one substance, one principle, or one categorical imperative. To accuse Mr. Russell of this is to fail to grasp the meaning and application of neo-realism.

It has none of Kropotkin's "grappling with difficult details," because it has, in fact, nothing to do with details. It deals, on the contrary, with ideas, theories, attitudes of mind. It rests upon the mature wisdom of a profound and difficult metaphysic, the result of a life-long study, a philosophy which has not as yet been successfully refuted. The attitudes of mind with which it deals are the real roads to freedom, and they are not "goals" as Mr. Durant supposes, as well as the American publisher who gives it the misnomer, "Proposed Roads to Freedom." For the nature of freedom is such that those who seek it cannot race toward it and seize it; the concept, in this case, must precede its realization.

GORDON KING.

New York City.

INTER ARMA SILET LABOR

SIR: In his recent communication John J. McSwain, Captain of Infantry, proposes an advisory commission to study and advise Congress and the War Department as to military training. I am not questioning the advisability of military training or otherwise but I wish to point out that among all the professions and occupations he suggests for *personnel* there is not the slightest suggestion that labor might desire to be represented on such a commission. In my judgment labor is more entitled to an opinion on the questions involved than any other class of society. It is confessedly the larger and in my opinion from present manifestations has the more intelligence. "They will sometimes be generous to Labor; but they will never be just to Labor. They will speak to Labor; they will speak for Labor; but they will not let Labor speak."

JOEL HENRY GREENE, M.D.

Urbana, Ill.

Notes on New Books

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, 1914-1917. By General Basil Gourko. 420 pages. Macmillan.

The author of this latest book about Russia possesses all the distinction that adheres to obsolete titles. He was chief of the Russian Imperial General Staff from November, 1916 to March, 1917, and he was commander-in-chief of the western armies from March to June of the latter year, until he was relieved of his post by the Kerensky government. That he is alive today and able to write his memoirs at Paris is due to the happy animosity of the first revolutionary government, which did him the favor of sending him into exile. He writes an account of Russia's participation in the war, from the stages of mobilization onward, with the authority of one who was at all times among the high command; and if one may judge by his openly avowed attitude toward the first revolution, he writes with a singular freedom from the desire to please. No mere courtier would ever at this late stage of the world's progress admit that he advised the provisional government that the revolution should be stalled for the duration of the war, and that he urged them naively "not to forget that the man who cannot satisfy his elementary material necessities does not require liberty." In deciding between the continuance of the war and the welfare of Russia Gourko was at one with the politicians of the western democracies in urging that the benefits of internal reorganization be sacrificed. But he was honest enough to see that there was a clear-cut alternative. If this had been perceived by the western democracies, the road to the present chaos would not have been paved with so many futile gestures of benevolence.

BOLSHEVISM. By John Spargo. 389 pages. Harper.

The latest dissertation of John Spargo has a pair of antipodal appeals. For the unsuspecting popular reader it presents a simple undramatic and substantiated history of the Socialist movement in Russia, from the underground agitation of Herzen and his disciples to the debacle before the hosts of Bolshevism. On the other hand, it is excellent propaganda for the Russian Social-Revolutionary party, which is, it can be guessed, the legitimized Socialist faction, being closely affiliated with the International Bureau. Naturally, it has Spargo's support; to it is consecrated, he believes, the eventual democratization of Russia. Although now being Bolshevically persecuted, it was the group behind the Constituent Assembly, and in that body is Russia's hope of recovery from chaos. Spargo announces that he takes no stock in any of the material presented by anti-Bolshevist campaigning, neither journalistic horror headlines nor the Sisson docu-

ments; nevertheless his book is a passionate effort to destroy faith in every phase of Communist thought or activity. Surely the Communist programme, though dangerous and doomed sooner or still sooner for the political ash-heap, cannot, judging from its rapid spread, be utterly rotten and destructive. Spargo does not think so: "The Bolshevik, wherever he may present himself, is the foe of progress and the ally of reaction." And so his case, since the evidence is preponderantly from Russian Socialist (not Bolshevik) sources, obviously seems biased in favor of such more sober democrats as the Social-Revolutionists. With the radicals publishing propaganda for Bolshevism, and the Socialists clamoring for justice to the International programme, only a few voices raised in defense of the bourgeoisie are lacking to complete the Russian babel. Although Mr. Spargo's book is a valuable aid to an understanding of the politico-economic struggle in Russia and the dangers of Bolshevism, it would be more trustworthy if it were less righteously Socialistic.

THE LETTERS OF ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. Edited by Edmund Gosse, C. B. and Thomas James Wise. 600 pages; 2 vols. Lane.

This collection of Swinburne's letters, wrongly described in the introduction as the first, is disappointing to those who will turn to it for a revelation of his personality. It is a comment on Swinburne's interests rather than on himself. It appears that Messrs. Gosse and Wise have had access only to the poet's correspondence with friends who like themselves were of the stiff, academic sort before whom he felt bound to conduct himself with elegance and discretion, to whom he was bound by common interests in scholarship and esthetics. These interests, it should be added, counted for more with Swinburne than with any poet of equal fame. In none does personal experience furnish so little inspiration and material for poetry; in none does literature and the history of literature give so much. Greek tragedy, the Latin decadence, Medieval romance and lyric, Renaissance and especially Elizabethan drama, French Romanticism—he saturated himself in all periods and practiced a multitude of forms. His heroes were literary heroes—Marlowe, Shelley, Landor, Victor Hugo, Mallarmé, Baudelaire. Of these literary interests and idolatries the present volumes are a record. One pursuit in which Swinburne succeeded the romantic critics of the preceding generation was the recovery and attribution of Elizabethan poems and plays, and with this subject more than half his letters are concerned. The letters which come closest to having personal value are those which bear evidence of the gusto with which he wrote, and read, and recalled poetry. "I have added yet four more jets of boiling and gushing infamy to the perennial and poisonous fountain of Dolores. O mon ami!"



"Inner history of the war made public. England in uproar over sensational disclosures in Viscount French's book."—*Press Dispatch*.



"1914" The Memoirs of FIELD MARSHAL VISCOUNT FRENCH

Introduction by Maréchal Foch

The complete, uncensored and authoritative account by Viscount French of the operations of the British armies under his command during 1914 including the dispatch of the British armies to France, the retreat from Mons, the battles of the Marne and Aisne, the siege and fall of Antwerp, and the first Battle of Ypres.

Ever since the signing of the Armistice the world has been waiting for the real facts of the war, so long hidden by the censor's pencil, and particularly for the authentic memoirs of the Allied leaders, from which the final history of the conflict will be written. As the first of these memoirs by a commanding general of the present Allies, "1914" promises to take its place as the most important war book of the year. Frontispiece and maps. \$6.00 net.

THE BOUNDER

By ARTHUR HODGES

"It is a good deal to say that American literature is being enriched by work that almost indisputably spells genius, and yet it is no exaggeration to say that readers of Thackeray or Dickens must have felt much the same when first they read 'Vanity Fair' or 'Dombey and Son' as the reader now feels who peruses 'The Bounder.'"—Philadelphia Press, \$1.60 net.

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By IRVING BABBITT

Rousseau's world-wide influence—far greater than that of the ordinary man of letters, and comparable in some respects to that of the founders of religions—is of late years receiving increasing recognition. Professor Babbitt takes him as the chief figure in tracing a great international movement from the sentimentalists of the 18th century to the present day. \$3.50 net.

CONVENTION AND REVOLT IN POETRY

By JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES

"It is the first balanced and sane study of poetic technique that we have had since the radicals began re-arranging the frontiers between poetry and prose."—Chicago Evening Post. "Not often in the whole range of modern criticism does one come across a volume as valuable from the student's viewpoint, as marked with erudition and excellent judgment, and withal as delightfully readable."—Baltimore News. \$1.75 net.

Boston HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY New York

It is more like the landscape in Browning's *Childe Roland* [he writes to Lady Trevelyan from Mentone] than anything I ever heard tell on. A calcined, scalped, rasped, scraped, flayed, broiled, powdered, leprous, blotched, mangy, grimy, parboiled country without trees, water, grass, fields—with blank, beastly, senseless olives and orange-trees like a mad cabbage gone indigestible; it is infinitely more like hell than earth and one looks for tails among the people. And such females with hunched bodies and crooked necks carrying tons on their heads, and looking like Death taken seasick. Ar-r-r-r-r! Gr-r-r-r-r!

Now and then a bit of criticism, literary or political, is delivered with the trenchancy which we expect from the author of the sonnets *On looking into Carlyle's Reminiscences* and *The White Czar*. "You are thoroughly right about the waste of tossing such things to the feeders on such rotten acorns and mouldy rye as *Epics of Hades* and the like. Who the deity is the author—Louis or Lyewis Morris, Tennyson's under-butler?" In general, however, Swinburne's *Letters* prove that poetry was a form of expression more natural to him than prose.

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR. By Major Walter Guest Kellogg. 141 pages. Boni and Liveright.

Major Kellogg represented the army on the commission of which Judge Mack and Dean Stone were members. He has a military mind; the confusion, repetition, and mistaken emphasis of his book show that. He is haunted by what he cannot understand and he returns to it again and again. One of these things is conscience. The cases of men like Mennonites and Molokans, who are constrained by the external law of a sect to avoid bearing arms or wearing buttons, he can understand or at least classify. The absolutist and the political objector are beyond him. As for emphasis, Major Kellogg is much impressed by his own wisdom and goodwill in permitting objectors to appear before his court without standing at attention and saluting. He has great sympathy with officers assigned to the charge of conscientious objectors and thus deprived of the opportunity for active service in France: "It is not surprising that in a certain few cases the patience of the officer was so exhausted by the maliciously annoying attitude of various objectors in his charge that he lost his temper and maltreated them." He adds that "the Secretary of War, in one or two instances, ordered investigations and took disciplinary action against those responsible." He does not say that the disciplinary action resulted in the honorable dismissal of the officers. Major Kellogg never visited a disciplinary barracks, but is under the impression from hearsay that the objectors were fairly treated. He must have known of the way in which the Hofer brothers were tortured to death in the Federal Disciplinary Barracks at Alcatraz Island, but he does not men-

tion it. On the whole, if we needed evidence of the ineptitude of the War Department in dealing with conscientious objectors, and of its ostrich-like belief in the virtue of concealment, we should find it in Major Kellogg's uncomprehending observations, and in Secretary Baker's perfunctory introduction.

MILITARY SERVITUDE AND GRANDEUR. By Alfred de Vigny. Translated by Frances Wilson Huard. 320 pages. Doran.

In the South of France, cresting a great rock half circled by the Rhone, stands a monument to two religions. To this Palace of Avignon the French kings brought the Popes of Rome for the period of their Babylonish Captivity. To the outside world the Palace presented huge defenses comparable in strength to the cliff itself, while the deep walls of the courtyard were pierced with Gothic windows giving upon chapels with high groined ceilings, and great rooms rich with the colors of Renaissance art. . . . The Popes passed, and finally the kings. Enemies of the new Republic crowded the frontiers; France became for a quarter of a century an armed camp, and to the Palace of the Popes came "military servitude and grandeur." Gothic windows were bricked up; beams to support new barracks floors were driven into chapel walls, one tier above another; pictured saints were altogether blotted out beneath alternate layers of smoke and whitewash. France had found a new religion.

To "the wholly active life of the soldier" of that day Alfred de Vigny brought "an entirely contemplative nature." As a child he "saw in the Nobility one great family of hereditary soldiers" and "thought only of growing to a soldier's size." Through his father he knew intimately Louis XIV and Frederic the Great. Toward the end of the Empire he was "a heedless school boy . . . ceaselessly dizzied by the guns and the bells of the *Te Deum*." "Then more than ever," he says, "a truly ungovernable love for the glory of arms took hold of me; a passion all the more unfortunate because it was the exact time when . . . France began to be cured of it." Each year of the Restoration opened with the hope of a new war and closed in peace, leaving De Vigny long inactive "between the echoes and the dreams of battles," learning from the dead routine of garrison life and the stories of old soldiers "what there is that endears in the savage life of arms."

The modern Army is blind and dumb [he says] . . . It wills nothing and its action is started with a spring. It is a big thing that others control and that kills. But it is a thing that suffers, too! . . . Looking from nearby at the life of . . . armed troops, it will be truly seen that the soldier's existence is the saddest relic of barbarism subsisting among mankind. I have said so and I believe it is, next to capital punishment! But it will be seen also that nothing is more worthy of the interest and the love of the Nation than this sacrificial family which sometimes gives the Nation such wondrous glory.

EXCEPTIONALLY IMPORTANT AND TIMELY NEW BOOKS

NEW SCHOOLS FOR OLD

The Regeneration of the Porter School

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There is probably no term of equally recent origin so often in print as Bolshevism and its derivatives. Readers of the *London Times* do not need to be told that Mr. Wilton's knowledge of Russia is equalled by that of very few persons. "No such comprehensive and straightforward account has yet been given," says the *New York Times*, "of the conditions in Russia which led to the outbreak of the revolution and the emergence of Bolshevism." No definition of that term, by the way, is more clear-cut and definite than Mr. Wilton's. Net, \$5.00

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Among all the clamorous voices offering interpretations of the Great War, De Vigny speaks for France. From Germany comes the war of *macht* and *schrecklichkeit*, from England the sportsman's war, from Russia the war of blind sacrifice, and from America the war of plodding industry. But France has given and still gives to war a martyr's sacrifice and a martyr's exaltation—a spirit echoing in the shout of Paris headlines on the day of victory: "Le jour de gloire est arrivé!"

FIELDS OF THE FATHERLESS. By Jean Roy. 307 pages. Doran.

TUMBLEFOLD. By Joseph Whittaker. 284 pages. Dutton.

The color-note of *Fields of the Fatherless* is a lifeless gray. Accompanied by a monotony of short sentences and insignificant details, the author tells of her dreary existence as an illegitimate child, barmaid, factory hand, and domestic servant in Scotland—the tragedy of the soul yearning for wider horizons than those that imprison it. The book is not, however, exciting enough to interest, passionate enough to move, or introspective enough to constitute a human document. *Tumblefold*, sketches of boy life in English slums, also falls short. Joseph Whittaker has acquired sufficient journalistic skill to etch, with startling distinctness the hideous life of poverty-stricken children, but he hopelessly blurs his sharp outlines with an incongruous sentimentality and a conventional fictioneering. As it is, he achieves several excellent stories for juvenile consumption and one, *The Woman Who Lagged Behind*, of genuine merit for adults. The strange thing about both books is the complete absence of revolutionary protest in them. Their authors apparently console themselves with thoughts of a beneficent God and the scanty joys of the poor; they seem to have absolutely no touch with present-day social movements.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MODERN STATES. By W. F. Willoughby. 455 pages. Century.

Many students of political science have been turned from a thorough inquiry into this important department of education by the intricacies of supposedly elementary textbooks. To meet the lack of adequate yet simple introductory books, Professor W. F. Willoughby has written a clear exposition of the government of modern states. In method, the author has departed from the usual custom of weaving a description of political principles with pages of explanatory matter, citations of cases, and other details which the student of "Gov. 1," looks upon with awe and resignation. He has limited himself to a study of principles, and has pointed out with admirable clarity the many nice distinctions in government political organization which account for

the many differences in procedure obtaining in various states. Besides elucidating principles by showing their applications to typical states, he has emphasized the fitness of particular political organizations to the temper and the development of different peoples.

The shortcomings of our own political organization enforce recognition when we are brought face to face with the administrative and legislative difficulties which confront us in any attempt to accede to a demand for more democratic control of government. The inflexibility of the Constitution, the possibility of an amendment's being passed which may not reflect the wishes of the electorate, the overlapping of the administrative functioning organs of government, the duplication of organization because of our multiple system, and our unscientific method of budget-making are but a few of the questions which Professor Willoughby presents. In addition, an excellent index refers to every detail of political organization discussed in the text. In short, *The Government of Modern States* is both an enticing introduction to the study of political science, and a quick reference work for those whose understanding of political principles has become a little hazy.

THE PRESENT CONFLICT OF IDEALS. By Ralph Barton Perry. 549 pages. Longmans, Green.

Aviation is the image which Professor Perry's swift-winged survey of the world of modern thought naturally suggests. He moves with insouciant ease through the pure ethers of reflection and charts the *orbis terrarum animae* with the nice precision of a metaphysical expert. The result is—well, a somewhat impressionistic photography. The latitudes of competing philosophies and the longitudes of contending national ideals are all duly observed and noted, but in the final representation laboriously hewn paths are apt to appear as erratic streaks: storied edifices sit squat upon the ground, while the serrated fortifications blur and lose their teeth. But for all this, the chart is a good guide, and a timely. We have come to an hour of appraisal in things of the mind no less than in affairs of the forum and the mart and it is good to have before us a book which can give a broad report of the mind's labors in the decades which have so lately been sealed into the dead past. To be sure, in this hour, a man is like to have the feeling that he is walking in a land of ghosts—ghosts that ought to be decently laid by now—when he finds himself once more quarreling with Absolutist quiddities or gasping amid Realistic rarefactions: but, in fairness to Perry, he has given as little of this as need be, and has centered his effort upon the humaner and more living elements in the philosophies of the generation. As he truly says, we are on the verge of a new age in which not merely the map of Europe



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but the map of the human mind will be changed; and it is a wholly sensible effort at construction to prepare for this certain change into the new by a square and comprehensive regard of the old. For making this possible in a readable, suggestive, and quite manfully up-to-date volume, Professor Perry deserves all good will, and his book *bon voyage*.

But one really must say a word more. Professor Perry takes us up into a high place and shows us all the philosophical dominions spread out below—including his own. That is the odd thing about it: he has apparently learned to fly, but has not succeeded in detaching himself; and when we examine our vehicle a little closer we discover that we are borne aloft, not in an aeroplane, but in a kite securely tethered to the New Realism. What this may mean, in full effect, must be left to the reader's discovery. It is not merely that there is, on the author's part, a bias in favor of his own convictions: that surely is a virtue, if convictions mean anything. But it is the nature of these convictions that somehow forbids genuine flight. Neo-Realism calls itself rationalism, intellectualism, and prides itself upon being passionless and devoid of intuition. By that very count it is void of the power to move men, void of life, empty of help. Perry skims the surface of modern thought; his own school is but an eddy in the moil; there is no depth, no current, no drive. Doubtless, philosophy is so accepted and so intended by the New Realists; but the result is that this display of the varieties of thought leads but to a general impression of the footlessness and haplessness of all intellectual labor, to a kind of suicide of the Realistic premise. And it gives, too, to the expositor, not even the power which should be legitimately his, as guide and prophet. He moves familiarly and discursively through the field of contemporary thought, but for all his cultivation he makes no plant grow therein; indeed one might add that he is singularly adept in destroying the dynamogeny of the authors he treats whose philosophical convictions are rather more living than those of the Realists. Self-conscious intellectualism, dissected out of organic life, always has been (and how can it ever be anything else?) a condition of moral paralysis. It is no fault of Professor Perry's agreeable exposition that his book leaves the reader unperturbed, uninspired; rather it is the miasma of his philosophy, which, like a dead thing, draws him back into the company of the ghosts.

CHIMNEY-POT PAPERS. By Charles S. Brooks. 184 pages. Yale Univ. Press. New Haven.

Mr. Brooks dons his carpet slippers with an undisguised relish that is disarming, and carries the reader over discursive pages with such a fund of good humor that the first impulse, which is to brand him old-fashioned, yields place to the enjoyment which comes with recognition of the companionable quality in his essays. Chimney-Pot Papers might be termed essays in relaxation, written quietly

and gracefully. The very titles give a cue to the mood, for Mr. Brooks can wax pleasantly digressive over such topics as *On Going Afoot*, *On Turning into Forty*, and *On Going to a Party*. The author splinters no lance in defense of these familiar excursions, nor does he apologize for his obvious liking for those things which the majority have overlooked in their mad haste to be modern. After all, no one is so modern that he will not someday "turn into forty"—unless the violence of his haste shatters his span—so why not write about it, especially if it can be done with grace and good humor? But when it comes to discoursing upon the difference between wit and humor, as Mr. Brooks has the temerity to do, it is to be feared that the essayist has pilfered his point of view from a forgotten freshman theme.

IN THE ALASKAN WILDERNESS. By George Byron Gordon. 247 pages. Winston; Philadelphia.

Narrative charm in a book of exploration is a quality which appeals to the average reader when geographical exactitude and recondite scientific deductions are lost on him. This book has much of the former to commend it, though the author's observations indicate that he is capable of profundity. Dr. Gordon and his brother crossed nearly the entire width of Alaska in a canoe. Their craft was launched at Fairbanks on the Tanana River, a point which they evidently reached by steamers from White Horse by way of the Yukon and the Tanana. They floated down this stream a distance of some two hundred miles to where it is joined by the Kantishna River, and thence poled against the current another hundred miles or more to Lake Minchumina, in which the Kantishna has its beginning. A ten-mile portage brought them to the Kuskokwim, and it was on this river that they traveled to the sea. So far as geographical information is concerned, the book gains little importance from the fact that no white men had ever followed this route before; it gains much, however, from the author's unorthodox point of view. His sense of humor is unailing. He looks upon adventure as mainly a spiritual matter, and what is to the orthodox explorer merely a means to an end becomes to him a noteworthy incident. The book is interesting for its minutiae quite as much as for its travel data. Thus a hungry lost dog that, failing to hear the call of the wild, joined their party, is the basis of several good pages. Further parentheses are reasons for retaining the Indian name "Denali" for what is called Mount McKinley on the maps, and some excellent remarks concerning the inaptitude of missionaries in discouraging tribal ceremonies and dances among the Kuskogamiut Indians. An anthropologist of some note, Dr. Gordon's chief concern on this trip was the study of the Indians, and he gives some enlightening views of their arts, customs, and languages.

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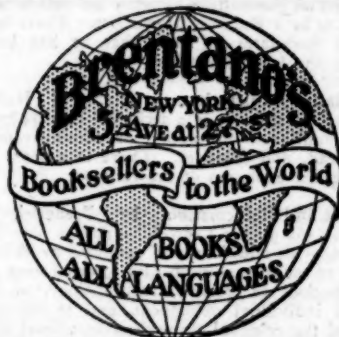
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Books of the Fortnight

- Democratic Ideals and Reality**, by H. J. Mackinder (266 pages; Holt), throws the problems of international reconstruction against their ultimate geographic background. The author dogmatizes too confidently about the political elements considered, and the book is stronger in its perception of realities than in its appraisal of ideals. But Mr. Mackinder is a vivid exponent of the new regional geography and his conception of the World Island, the Heartland, and the role of seamen, horsemen, and plowmen in the development of civilization amply makes up for his defects in political comprehension.
- International War**, by Oscar T. Crosby (378 pages; Macmillan), discusses the causes of war and the means for curing them. Written before the entrance of the United States, it was withheld from publication until the principles advocated had crept even into the councils of statesmen.
- Towards New Horizons**, by M. P. Willcocks (213 pages; Lane), is an English woman's attempt to evaluate the contributions of the war to a new order in religion, science, literature, labor, and politics—a plea for a fresh beginning, with an entirely different objective.
- Reconstruction and National Life**, by Cecil Fairfield Lavelle (193 pages; Macmillan), purposes to suggest an historical approach to the problem of reconstruction in Europe, viewed as a matter of national adjustment. As an interpretation it is superficial; as a history, incomplete.
- American Business in World Markets**, by James T. M. Moore (320 pages; Doran), exploits the plausible commercial possibilities of what the author believes is going to be a Business Man's Era. There is nothing in his postulates to show that he has been alive during the last generation.
- Efficient Railway Operation**, by Henry S. Haines (709 pages; Macmillan), is a technical treatise covering a field familiar to the author as administrator, operative head, and engineer. There is a short introduction on the evolution of the railway.
- Punishment and Reformation**, by Frederick Howard Wines (481 pages; Crowell), appears now in a third edition, with additions and revisions by Winthrop D. Lane, of the Survey staff. By incorporating the latest contributions to criminal anthropology, to the study of the individual delinquent, and to the rehabilitation of the criminal through occupational and political therapy, Mr. Lane has given the freshness of youth to a classic that was far from senility. Punishment and Reformation is a book for the citizen, as well as for the social worker and the official, and to the extent that it succeeds in tempering the judgment of the whole community it is above all things a book for the criminal.
- A New Municipal Program**, edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff (392 pages; Appleton), brings together compactly the experience gained in municipal administration since the organization of the National Municipal League in 1894. It is the work of a committee embracing such capable students and administrators as Drs. Lowell, James, and Fairlie, and Messrs. Childs, Wilcox, and Woodruff.
- Democracy**, by Shaw Desmond (332 pages; Scribner), is a pocket flashlight illuminating a political scene which the genius of Gissing, Bennett, Wells, and Cannan has already made as bright as day.
- Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report, 1910-11** (819 pages; Government Printing Office), is dated 1913. It is a rich storehouse of Seneca fiction, legends, and myths. The chief fault of this wide margined, bulky volume is that of so many other government publications—it was never meant to be read.
- The Last Million**, by "Ian Hay" (Major Ian Hay Beith; 203 pages; Houghton Mifflin), is no King Canute's chronicle, attempting to sweep back the tide. Major Beith takes the war for granted and writes of accommodation rather than of rebellion; he sits down inside a finished universe to chat familiarly of what happens when the object of construction is destruction and death is the day's business. The new volume no more lives up to *The First Hundred Thousand* than the peace has lived up to the war.
- The War Romance of the Salvation Army**, by Evangeline Booth and Grace Livingston Hill (356 pages; Lippincott; Philadelphia), shows alarming symptoms of that attitudinizing from which the war activities of the Salvation Army were notably free. The sequence of prosperity and decay is familiar in the history of earlier mendicant orders; does it threaten to repeat itself?
- Anatole France**, by Lewis Piaget Shanks. (241 pages; Open Court; Chicago), is a biographical record of its subject with some critical comment. It is a question whether an Anglo-Saxon can penetrate the secret of Anatole France, but Professor Shanks has illuminated his subject conscientiously.
- Reading the Bible**, by William Lyon Phelps (131 pages; Macmillan), exhibits the author in the act of carrying a very light burden of coals to Newcastle. If the theological students who first heard these collected lectures were not already convinced that the Bible is good reading, there was little here to win them to new tastes.
- Luna Benamor**, by Blasco Ibañez, translated by Isaac Goldberg (209 pages; Luce; Boston), is a collection of short stories of which the most pretentious gives title to the volume. This is a Jewish-Spanish love story, heavy with local color. The short tales which complete the volume are in the staccato manner of Maupassant, mere local situations without the suggestion of wider application that makes Maupassant a fabulist.
- The Home and the World**, by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, translated by Surendranath Tagore (298 pages; Macmillan), is the first novel by the distinguished poet of modern India. It is a story of Hindu family life affected by the storm of revolution in the world outside. The narrative consists of successive confessions by the three characters: Nikhil, the moderate husband; Bimala, the enthusiastic wife; and Sandip, the interloper, who introduces into the home the mingled elements of patriotism and passion. The unpretending realism of the book and its philosophy are of the East and true; the weakly managed complication and imported conclusion are of the West, and imitated.
- The Valley of the Squinting Windows**, by Brinsley MacNamara (296 pages; Brentano), is an epic of meanness. The author attempts to do for the Irish novel what Synge did for the Irish drama, and the result is an interesting piece of pessimistic realism, somewhat Hardy-esque in effect. The malignant spirit of the valley, nurturing carefully the memory of the heroine's early sin, wreaks destruction of soul upon all those involved, and finally blots out her hard-bought dream of proud atonement.

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Current News

Arnold Bennett says somewhere that he wants to meet "the man who will not willingly let die the author who is not yet dead." Up to date very few war books have been successful enough to warrant keeping their live authors alive just on their account. For the most part, books about the war are really more disappointing than the war itself; they cast a kind of pale glamour over the surface of the ocean, instead of hunting out the caves where the storms are made.

Mr. Nicholson, for instance, proves beyond peradventure that finesse is not an unattainable quality in fiction which plays with war intrigue (*Lady Larkspur*; 171 pages; Scribner). Heretofore spy stories have been dragged before summary mental court martial, and promptly sentenced. But here is an instance where judgment may well be deferred, for the author has exercised restraint and a becoming degree of art in weaving his mystery. In fact, were it not for the disclosure on the wrapper, one would become securely enmeshed in the plot before discovering that there is so much as a secret agent on the premises.

Besides Mr. Nicholson, there is just now Mrs. Victor Rickard, a compatriot of Mr. Bennett's with an eye for background and a hand for good writing (*The Fire of Green Boughs*; 328 pages; Dodd, Mead). With a crisp, vivid style, perhaps too obviously imitative of Wells, she has posed for a section of London stay-at-home society the holocaust of youth in Europe. As a student of character however she is unsatisfactory. Labels may do well enough for subsidiary persons, but we demand more than strangely assorted posters when we meet Dominic Roydon, the magnetic clergyman, and Sylvia Tracy, the heroine. Mrs. Rickard gives us little aid in our search for hidden mechanisms and motives—that is, for the storm caves of character.

War memoirs and letters and that sort of thing are quite generally losing their edge; perhaps because fighting experiences, though varied, tend finally to fall into classifications, and are capable of rising into life again only at the touch of genius. The Active Service Series (Lane) furnishes two new cases in point—*A Handful of Ausseys*, by C. Hamilton Thorp (296 pages) and *Some Soldiers and Little Mamma*, by Helen Boulnois (203 pages). Here the yield in profit to the reader is fairly proportional to his zeal; which is perhaps inversely proportional to the number of times he has read the same thing before. A novel setting gives certain advantages to *Macedonian Musings*, by V. J. Seligman (188 pages; Macmillan), a volume that brings together a series of sketches and semi-essays seeking to present a picture of life in the Salonica campaign, of which "those at home knew next to nothing." But the attempt suffers from too much straining after verbal brightness, and from too great reliance on the capital "I."

Ruth Dunbar's *Swallow* (246 pages; Boni and

Liveright), although it is designated as a book "for after the war," rivals any of its predecessors in hysterical fervor. Not many of them in fact can boast of passages to match this gem:

Then something happened in Europe. A gallant rabbit stood between the hole where its babies trembled, and a band of coyotes. France and England placed themselves beside the rabbit. I waited for America to go in with France and England. America did not do it. But I for one could not go on selling ten-cent loaves in waxed paper. It was my chance, and the chance of every young man in America, to adventure generously.

The *Swallow* is fiction, but it is based upon the actual experiences of a survivor of the Lafayette Escadrille, who seems to have been as careless of the disposition of his war reminiscences as he was of his life in battle.

Readers whose thirst for vicarious suffering has survived the war will relish Eleanor Porter's *Dawn* (338 pages; Houghton Mifflin). Miss Porter's appeal to the tear-ducts of the "glad" cult might be followed by a plea for financial aid for some new war "drive." Actually it asks for no donation other than a generous outpouring of sentimentality. The more normal reaction to it is not unlike that which might be expected to follow the sipping of sweet brine.

As between sentimentality and grossness there is little to choose. The disgusting material fished up for exhibition by Fernand Vandérem (*Two Banks of the Seine*; 412 pages; Dutton) is capable of treatment by an artist; but we rebel when an oily raconteur of suggestive stories capitalizes it. The plot of this novel is insipid, the characters trivial, the setting lifeless, the whole without sparkle or insight. The narrative might well have escaped being written in French; there is yet a chance that it will escape being read in English.

The Bookman has recently celebrated the rebirth-day that marks the end of its first half-year's residence in the house of Mr. Doran. As heir to a literary tradition developed in the forty-seven volumes of the senior Bookman, the remodeled publication carries a considerable burden of responsibility, to which, when it changed hands, it added an obligation to cultivate a field somewhat wider than the ancestral acres. Today with a forty-eighth volume on the shelf, The Bookman deserves well of the old friends it has kept and the new ones it has acquired.

Contributors

Arthur Livingston is Professor of Romance Languages at Western University, London, Ontario, and a member of the Royal Commission of Venice, an academy of history and letters. For the term of a leave from his professorial duties, Dr. Livingston is associated with the New York headquarters of the Foreign Press Service.

Katherine Warren is an instructor in English at Vassar College.

The other contributors to this issue have previously written for THE DIAL.

Against the Betrayal of Russia

At a dinner given by THE DIAL, May 22, in honor of Professor George V. Lomonossoff and Mr. L. A. Martens, at which five hundred guests were present, a resolution was passed "re-affirming our faith in the Russian people, our sympathy with their effort to establish democratic institutions of their own choosing, and our protest against all forms of military intervention and economic blockade designed to modify such institutions and exploit the country in the interest of foreign powers"; also pledging "our best efforts to persuade our government to recognize the government of the Russian Soviet Republic."

In order to give the American people an opportunity to demand repudiation of the policy which the executive has applied toward Russia, the following protest has been drawn up.

A Plea for a Just American Policy Towards Russia

We, as citizens of the United States, call upon the Congress of the United States to bring about the abolition of the blockade against the Russian Soviet Republic. Without declaring war upon Russia we have permitted the blockade to bring death to hundreds of thousands every month, by starvation.

We urge the immediate recall of *all* American troops in Russia, and the abandonment of attempts to secure special troops for service there. That is no service for the soldiers of a democracy.

We earnestly protest against our government's conniving or collaborating with any counter-revolutionary groups, such as those of Kolchak or Denikin, servers of a discredited monarchical regime.

We hold that the American government must do nothing that will hinder the Russian people from determining their form of government, in accordance with their own economic and political ideals.

In sum, we demand that Congress exercise its constitutional functions for the purpose of creating a genuinely democratic foreign policy, consistent with the traditions of a nation which cherishes honorable memories of the revolution by which it was founded, and the civil war by which it was perpetuated.

(Signed).....

Affix your name to this plea and send it immediately to your representatives and senators, with as many additional signatures as you can get.

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